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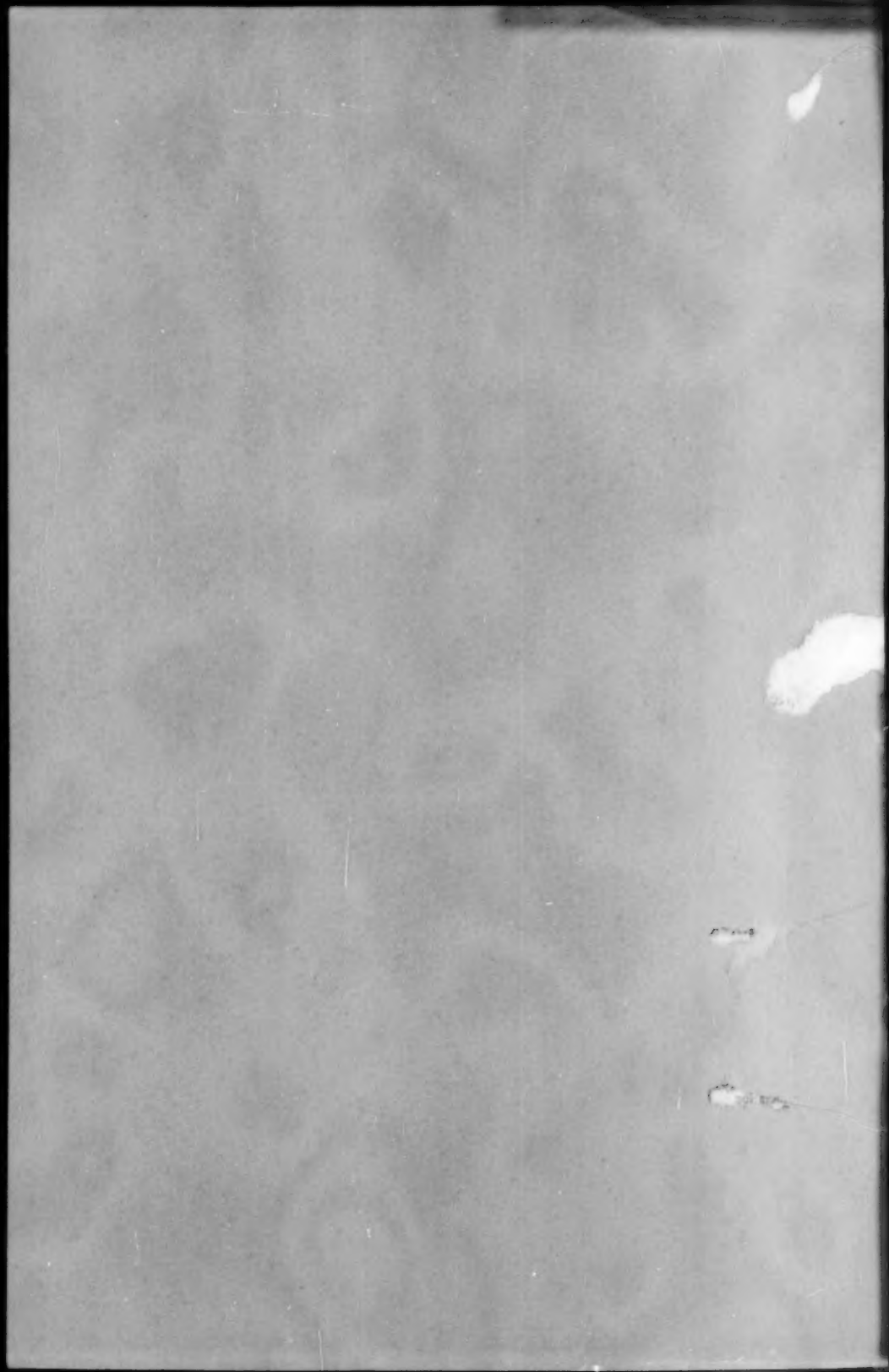
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The Struggle for Stalin's Heritage

EDWARD TABORSKY
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

IN THE ONE-MAN dictatorship which characterized the latter years of the Stalinist era, no one could be allowed to grow to such stature as to become the Dictator's alter ego. For the sake of his own safety, Stalin could not afford to let any man or group of men rise anywhere near his overtowering height and he had to keep his top lieutenants in an uneasy balance, jealous of one another and competing for his favors. Hence it was a foregone conclusion, fully borne out by subsequent events, that a tense struggle for leadership would develop in Russia after the Dictator's death. It is the purpose of this article to analyze this struggle in terms of personnel and organizational changes and to consider the results it has thus far produced, both in the Soviet Union and in its European satellites.

The Shaping of Forces at the Nineteenth Party Congress

Although jockeying for positions within the top party organs had been a continuous phenomenon among Stalin's henchmen, the final stage for the struggle for Stalin's heritage was set at the Nineteenth All-Union Party Congress in September, 1952.¹ This congress made certain alterations in the structure and composition of the highest party organs, the most spectacular changes being the abolition of the Politbureau and Orgbureau, the creation of a new twenty-five man Presidium of the Central Committee, and an increase in the membership of the Secretariat of the Central Committee from five to ten.

Yet hardly twenty-four hours after Stalin's death the Presidium was reduced from twenty-five to fourteen, i.e., almost to the size of the former Politbureau. Similarly, it took only a trifle longer to reduce the membership of the Secretariat from ten to five, exactly the size of its staff prior to the Nineteenth Congress.²

¹ For a verbatim English translation of the proceedings of the Nineteenth Party Congress, see Leo Gruliov, *Current Soviet Policies* (New York, 1953).

² See "Decision of a Joint Meeting of the Central Committee of CPSU, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR," *Pravda*, March 7, 1953.

Even though changing the membership of the top party organs is always a matter of prime political importance in the Soviet Union—all the more so in the case of such a sudden reversal—no explanation was given for this major change except the laconic announcement that reduction of the membership of the Presidium was made "in order to ensure more operative leadership."³ Consequently, if one ventures an analysis, it can be based only on conclusions drawn from an estimate of background and personal affiliations of those who were admitted to, or ousted from, the inner sanctum, and on general understanding of the political habits and processes within the party.

Early in 1952, Stalin and his closest associates must have realized that he would not live much longer⁴ and that the party had to be prepared for the emergency that his death would create. That was probably the main reason why, after a quiescent interval of more than thirteen years, the Nineteenth Party Congress was convened so suddenly in October, 1952, and was asked to approve the above-mentioned surprising reorganization of the highest party organs. By combining ten former Politbureau members in the new Presidium with fifteen other members drawn from various party, trade-union, and administration groups in different parts of the country, Stalin and his collaborators made an attempt at broader consolidation around the supreme party leadership.⁵ As most of the newly added members belonged to the post-Revolutionary generation and to the so-called "*apparatchiki*," i.e., people who rose to prominence owing to their work within the party apparatus, a certain advantage was probably gained by Malenkov, who is himself a classical specimen of a post-Revolutionary *apparatchik* and who, as Stalin's chief aide in the Secretariat in the last years of his rule, wielded considerable influence over admissions to, and promotions in, the party apparatus.⁶ A corresponding setback was suffered by Molotov, who saw only two pre-1917 Bolsheviks—Shkiryatov and Kuusinen—added to those of the former Politbureau. A still greater handicap was imposed upon Beria, the third main contender for Stalin's position. The only man among the newcomers who might have been considered as representing Beria's main

³ *Ibid.* But expediency was the official motivation for the transformation of the smaller Politbureau into the larger Presidium at the Nineteenth Party Congress. See Khrushchëv's report on the new party statutes as published in *Pravda*, August 26, 1952 (English text in Gruliov, *Current Soviet Policies*, 137).

⁴ According to evidence offered by Stalin's nephew, the Soviet dictator suffered his first mild heart attack in 1945 (see Budu Svanidze, *My Uncle Joseph Stalin* [New York, 1953], 224). Stalin's subsequent prolonged absences from Moscow and from various important Communist celebrations which previously he had seldom failed to attend tend to substantiate the persistent rumors about his ill-health.

⁵ See full list in Gruliov, *Current Soviet Policies*, 242.

⁶ Merle Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled* (Cambridge, 1953), 279.

field of activities—the police—was S. D. Ignatiev, who proved to be anything but Beria's man, as was subsequently shown in the case of the famous "doctors' plot" and its aftermath.⁷ If we keep further in mind that it was Malenkov who delivered the main speech at the Nineteenth Congress, and if we piece together various items indicative of the lowered status of Beria—such as his repeated 1952 listings as "Number Six" instead of the earlier consistent "Number Four" ranking, and the elimination of his appointees in Georgia and of his close associate Abakumov from the position of Minister of State Security—the result and the true purpose of the 1952 reorganization stand out all the more clearly.

Obviously, the stage was being set for the elevation of Malenkov and for the demotion of his most formidable rival, Beria. The sharp attack, unleashed in January, 1953, in the Soviet press against the State Security organs for their alleged failure to uncover the "doctors' plot" in 1945 and 1946, was a serious slap at Beria himself, who had served as chief supervisor of the State Security agencies in those years and had thus to bear the ultimate responsibility for their behavior and neglect.⁸

Beria's Ill-fated Attempt at a Comeback

Before the eliminating process could mature, Stalin died. With the passing away of the Dictator, and the loss of that awe-inspiring symbol of unity and power of the Communist world, the men of the Kremlin felt themselves highly vulnerable; their behavior clearly revealed this. They issued a warning against panics, began to cajole the masses by hasty price reductions, a grant of broad amnesties, and a number of promises of better living-conditions, while they created a series of shooting incidents in the skies around their empire, as if to prove by deeds that they were strong enough to shoot down American planes and other planes without suffering retaliation.

⁷ Ignatiev was Minister of State Security (having replaced Beria's appointee, V. Abakumov) at the time when the group of "saboteur doctors" was arrested in January, 1953, for alleged attempts to murder certain Soviet leaders. After Beria had taken over the combined ministries following Stalin's death, the case was reversed and Ignatiev was accused of political blindness and gullibility and his deputy Ryumin was arrested. As a consequence, Ignatiev was ousted from the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Soon after Beria's fall, however, Ignatiev reappeared as First Secretary of the party in Bashkiria.

⁸ Liquidation of a powerful rival in the Communist system is frequently started by an attack from below. Fault is first found with minor officers, for whose conduct the "liquidatee" may be held to be directly or indirectly responsible. Insinuations are made in a local meeting or paper, and often the main victim is induced to condemn or even to purge the men he had previously appointed. Realizing his danger, the victim usually becomes panicky and plays directly into the hands of his opponents by some clumsy attempt at retaliation, or by premature "self-criticism." This happened in similar purges behind the Iron Curtain, for instance, in the case of Slánský and Company in Czechoslovakia.

What the men of the Kremlin needed most at that time was a convincing show of unity and stability. An uneasy truce among Stalin's heirs was therefore established, and Beria took advantage of it to repair his badly shattered position. He was able to jump ahead of Molotov, and was listed immediately after Malenkov in the roster of the new first deputy premiers and in the membership of the party's Presidium.⁹ He became the boss of the new Ministry of Interior, which embraced once again the work of both the former MVD and MGB, and speedily reversed the "doctors' plot." As a consequence, former Minister of State Security Ignatiev was accused of "political blindness and heedlessness" in an editorial in *Pravda* and was removed from his position on the Secretariat of the Central Committee.¹⁰ In a series of bold steps, Beria brought about the removal of a number of party and government officials high in the Soviet republics and replaced them with his men, the most conspicuous examples being the dismissal of Melnikov as the First Party Secretary in the Ukraine and the appointment of Beria's henchman, Dekanosov, as Minister of Internal Affairs in Georgia.

As for Malenkov, he not only managed to become prime minister and the first man of the Presidium of the Central Committee (and to remain ahead of Beria in all official listings of the party and government leaders as "Number One" man), but succeeded also in retaining in the greatly reduced party's Presidium and Secretariat some of his supporters, or men who at least were no protégés of Beria. Saburov, Suslov, Ponomarenko, Shatalin, and Ignatiev can be mentioned as outstanding examples. Because of the veil of secrecy which shrouds the mutual relationship of the leading Communists in the USSR, it is, of course, extremely difficult to state with any degree of accuracy whether a member of a leading Communist body is or is not the supporter of this or that top contender. Occasionally, refugees from the Soviet Union provide bits of information on the subject. Such sources designate Saburov as Malenkov's man because he aided Malenkov in 1944-46 against the Beria-Voznesensky group with regard to Soviet policy in Eastern Germany.¹¹

Generally, however, one has to rely on indications provided by past personal associations. Every leading Communist takes advantage of his position to promote and help those party members whom he deems he can count on as allies in the never-ceasing struggle for survival and advancement. Men so promoted know that the demotion of their protector might affect their

⁹ *Pravda*, March 7, 1953.

¹⁰ Cf. the communiqué of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR in *Pravda*, April 4, 1953; *Pravda's* editorial of April 6, 1953; and the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU, in *Pravda*, April 7, 1953.

¹¹ See Vladimir Rudolph's paper in Robert Slusser, *Soviet Economic Policy in Post-War Germany* (Research Program on the USSR, New York, 1953), 22 ff. and 41 ff.

own status, so they stick with him, at least so long as he seems to be able to protect them. By following such past association, one can often make at least a reasonable guess as to the probable composition of the various cliques in the top party hierarchy.

Using this method, one notes that Saburov moved upwards when Malenkov began to rise again after 1948. Saburov then replaced Voznesensky as Deputy Premier and Chairman of the important State Planning Commission. He lost both functions in the first post-Stalin shuffle when Beria made his bid for power, but quickly recovered ground and regained both positions after Beria's downfall.

Suslov rose to become one of the five secretaries of the Central Committee under Stalin in the same way as did Malenkov, namely, through service as Stalin's private secretary. He revealed himself nearer to Malenkov than to Beria by his hard-hitting attack on P. Fedosyeyev, former editor of the *Bolshevik* and collaborator of Zhdanov and Voznesensky.

Ponomarenko's advancement closely coincided with Malenkov's gradual rise in stature; in fact, he moved into the party's Central Secretariat following Zhdanov's death and into the party's Presidium at the Nineteenth Party Congress. Soon after Beria's fall he was made First Party Secretary in Kazakhstan—with the obvious function of trouble shooter in that important Asian republic.

Shatalin may also be considered as Malenkov's protégé. He served in the Orgbureau and in the cadres department of the Central Committee (controlled by Malenkov), was elected alternate member of the Central Committee by the Nineteenth Party Congress, and was thereafter advanced to full membership. After Stalin's death he became one of the five secretaries of the Central Committee. Martin Ebon claims that "Shatalin is a very close collaborator of Malenkov."¹²

M. G. Pervukhin is also deemed to be Malenkov's man. He was chosen as a full member of the Presidium at the Nineteenth Party Congress, retained his position in the post-Stalin reshuffle and was then appointed deputy premier after Beria's fall.

On the other hand, Malenkov suffered an early setback when he was released on March 14, 1953, from his duties as First Secretary of the Central Committee and replaced by Nikita S. Khrushchëv.¹³ Though Malenkov himself had asked to be so relieved (according to the resolution of the Central Committee), the genuineness of his gesture is highly questionable. No true Communist would ever relinquish of his own volition such a position of authority as the first secretaryship of the Central Committee. The most

¹² Martin Ebon, *Malenkov* (New York, 1953), 161.

¹³ See "Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU," *Pravda*, March 21, 1953.

plausible explanation is that Malenkov's "request" was prompted by pressure from some of his rivals.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the move came only a few days after a clumsy attempt at a Malenkov buildup when, on March 10, 1953, *Pravda* published a photograph of Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Malenkov standing side by side with one another and claimed that the photograph had been taken during the signing of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship on February 14, 1950. Actually, in the original picture (as it appeared in *Pravda* on February 15, 1950) Malenkov stood five men removed from Stalin, while the Soviet leader closest to Stalin was Molotov, who, together with all those who actually stood between Stalin and Malenkov, had been unceremoniously eliminated from the 1953 version.¹⁴

Thus the tug of war between the Malenkov and Beria camps, already begun prior to Stalin's death, was quickly moving towards a decision. Beria's strategy in planting his men in the highest positions in one Soviet republic after another made it obvious that, if allowed to continue, he would become a real menace to his rivals. As it is a well-established law of the totalitarian jungle that the best protection against being liquidated is to liquidate the potential liquidator first, it seems that Malenkov and his associates got together with Khrushchëv and Molotov and their respective cliques, secured the co-operation of the armed forces' commanders, and staged the counter-stroke of June, 1953, resulting in the ouster of Beria and the subsequent removal of his henchmen throughout the Soviet Union.

Downfall of Malenkov

Beria's arrest narrowed by one the field of top competitors for the highest stake, but by no means interrupted the race itself. Nor did it enhance Malenkov's chances as much as it had seemed at first. On the contrary, a runner not hitherto counted on as one of the main favorites came from behind to take the lead—Nikita S. Khrushchëv. Having been a full member of the Politbureau, of the party's Presidium, and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Khrushchëv belonged to the group of Stalin's topmost henchmen. But his rank could by no means be compared to that of Stalin's three main lieutenants—Malenkov, Molotov, and Beria. Indeed, so little was he thought of as a potential main figure of post-Stalin Russia that the appointment of him as First Secretary of the Central Committee instead of Malenkov in March, 1953, aroused only mild interest among outside observers, the belief being that Malenkov continued to keep his hold on the party as Chairman of the Presidium.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, March 14, 1953; also reprinted in Ebon, *Malenkov*, following p. 128, and in Gruliov, *Current Soviet Policies*, 254.

Since the spring of 1954 evidence had begun to pile up, however, that pointed towards the steadily increasing stature of Khrushchëv and the corresponding eclipse of Malenkov. By April, 1954, he shared the limelight equally with Malenkov, each of them addressing one chamber of the Supreme Soviet, whereas a year previously, that prestige had been Malenkov's alone. The reports of their speeches in the Soviet press were strikingly identical. Both were rewarded with "thunderous, prolonged applause, turning into an ovation,"¹⁵ while the speeches of the other high-ranking Communist leaders were reported as having met only with "prolonged applause" (no "thunder," no "ovation").

Two months later a significant change occurred in the method of listing the names of the members of the party's Presidium in official announcements in the press. An alphabetical listing replaced the earlier practice of reporting the names in the order of prominence.¹⁶ While the change was adopted out of due deference to the newly re-emphasized principle of "collective leadership," it also served admirably the double purpose of removing Malenkov from the top position in the listings, since several other members of the party's Presidium happened to have names beginning with letters higher in *Azbuka*, the Russian alphabet.¹⁷

By the fall of 1954, Khrushchëv seemed to have definitely jumped ahead of Malenkov. In October, 1954, he led the Soviet delegation on the very important visit to Peiping on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Communist seizure of power in China. Malenkov stayed home. Upon his return from Peiping, Khrushchëv made an extensive tour of collective farms and other establishments in Soviet Asia, and delivered several speeches; his manifold activities were given wide publicity¹⁸ whereas Malenkov was rarely mentioned.

The knockout punch came in January, 1955, and the pretext was the issue of heavy industry versus light industry. Following a brief campaign against the "vulgarizers of Marxism,"¹⁹ who had wrongfully emphasized light in-

¹⁵ *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, April 27, 1954.

¹⁶ The new method was adopted for the first time in an announcement listing the Presidium members who attended the Eleventh Congress of the Trade Unions on June 7, 1955. It has been followed ever since.

¹⁷ Bulganin, Voroshilov, and Kaganovich thus precede Malenkov. Khrushchëv always comes last, as the letter *Kh* is one of the last letters of the *Azbuka*.

¹⁸ Cf. reports on Khrushchëv's visit to Uzbekistan and his speech at the Cotton Growers' Conference in Tashkent, in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, November 18, 1954, and in *Pravda*, November 19, 20, 21 and 22, 1954; Khrushchëv's speech at the All-Union Conference of Builders in Moscow in December, 1954, in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, December 28, 1954; his interview with the British scientist Bernal in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, December 24, 1954. See also articles referring to Khrushchëv and his speeches in *Pravda*, December 28, 1954, and *Izvestia*, December 25, 1954.

¹⁹ See Shepilov's article in *Pravda*, January 24, 1954 (English text in *Current Digest of Soviet Press*, Vol. VI, No. 52).

dustry, a session of the party's Central Committee was held on January 25, 1955, where the would-be supporters of light industry, allegedly led by Malenkov, were accused of "right-wing deviationism."²⁰ Malenkov's formal demotion on February 8, 1955, followed as a matter of course.

Shifts in Highest Government Positions

While this struggle was going on in the top party organs, bringing with it the concomitant personnel and organizational changes, other rearrangements were being made in the formal government machinery. Immediately following Stalin's death the number of deputy premiers was drastically reduced from thirteen to five (four first deputy premiers and one deputy premier), only to be increased to nine in December, 1953 (three first deputy premiers and six deputy premiers), and back again to thirteen (five first deputy premiers and eight deputy premiers) by March, 1955.

Similarly, the number of ministries, which had been sharply reduced following Stalin's death, began to rise again after Beria's ouster. In February, 1954, the Ministry of Metallurgy was divided into two separate ministries: ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. One month later, the Ministry of Higher Education, abolished in the sweeping post-Stalin reorganization, made its reappearance. In April, 1954, the Ministry of Power Stations and Electrical Industry was divided into three ministries to administer power stations, electrical industry, and radio manufacture respectively, and a separate Ministry of Fishing Industry was created. Simultaneously a new Committee for State Security was established, thus reviving in fact the MGB which had existed under Stalin and subjecting the Soviet peoples once again to the control of two separate police agencies. By the end of April, 1954, there were thus forty-two ministries and three central offices of ministerial rank, a total almost equal to the number which existed during Stalin's last administration.²¹

No particular political significance need be attached to the change in the number of ministries, for such erratic variation had been of frequent occurrence in the Soviet Union and usually reflected momentary need (real or imaginary) of economic or administrative streamlining. As for the shifting number of persons of first deputy premiers and deputy premiers, however, the political implication should not be overlooked. The practice had developed in Stalin's day of appointing the top men of the party to the top government positions also, and this practice seems to be continued. Viewing the post-Stalin appointments to the deputy premierships in this light, we can note that all the five deputy premiers—Saburov, Pervukhin, Malyshev,

²⁰ A report on the session published in *Pravda*, February 3, 1955.

²¹ *Pravda*, April 28, 1954.

Kosygin, and Tevosyan—added to the list in December, 1953, are men of the post-Revolutionary generation, that they belong to the younger managerial elite, and that they held the positions of deputy premiers prior to Stalin's death. Their addition to the topmost executive leadership put the old guard Bolsheviks into a definite minority in the second most powerful organ in the Soviet Union.

Nor is the distinction between the "first" deputy premiers and the simple designation "deputy premiers" one only of honor and prestige. Only first deputy premiers are members of the government Presidium, the highest executive leadership in the Soviet Union. Consequently, failure to belong to that body is a sign of lesser political stature. A clear example after Stalin's death is provided by Anastas Mikoyan. Though he was then a full member of the party's Presidium, he became only a deputy premier, whereas not only Molotov and Beria but also Bulganin and Kaganovich were made first deputy premiers. When Mikoyan finally made the grade and became a first deputy premier in March, 1955, in the wake of Malenkov's downfall, it was an unmistakable indication of his enhanced stature in the post-Malenkov era. The fact that he (rather than Molotov) was chosen to accompany Khrushchëv and Bulganin on their visits to Peiping and to Yugoslavia seems to point in the same direction.

Along with Mikoyan, two other full members of the party's Presidium—Saburov and Pervukhin—were advanced to the rank of first deputy premiers. That they were promoted after Malenkov's fall, in spite of the fact that their past personal associations suggest that Saburov was close to Malenkov (the same applies to lesser extent to Pervukhin), would make it seem that Khrushchëv is not yet able to impose his will on the others fully. They may, of course, have been rewarded for having abandoned Malenkov at the crucial time, but even if this be the case, Khrushchëv most certainly cannot relish having former Malenkovites in the highest positions.

As for Malenkov, the recent crop of new first deputy premiers leaves him as the only full member of the party's Presidium who continues to be only a deputy premier and is thus not included in Bulganin's "inner cabinet."²² The next logical step would seem to be to drop him from the party's Presidium whenever the time is ripe for another major reorganization of that supreme party body.

²² The remaining two full members of the party's Presidium who do not sit in the "inner cabinet" are absent for quite different reasons. Voroshilov is not eligible for membership in the Council of Ministers because he serves as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Nor is Khrushchëv, who also got himself elected to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—probably in order to keep close watch on Voroshilov. Moreover, any cabinet rank other than the premiership would deflate Khrushchëv's stature as the party's main secretary.

Changes in the Lower Echelons of Party and Government Leadership

Whenever the nemesis of liquidation hits among the top party command, it has a tendency to spread down the line in ever-widening circles. Files of party members are searched for evidence—true or otherwise—of close or distant associations with the fallen leader, and the invariable result is a sequence of shifts and demotions. Men so tainted cannot be trusted by the new rulers, no matter how eagerly they may attempt to jump on the new band wagon, and vacancies must be provided for the protégés of the new boss or clique. Moreover, such an opportunity for settling personal grudges must by no means be allowed to slip by. This was so in the past and it could not have been otherwise after Stalin's death, Beria's liquidation, and Malenkov's demotion.

A study of Soviet announcements, a perusal of Soviet papers, and the monitoring of digests of Soviet broadcasts of the last two years reveal that the post-Stalin, post-Beria and post-Malenkov changes in the top party leadership were accompanied by impressive shifts on every level of party and government apparatus throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. Taken together, these personnel shifts constituted the biggest shakeup in Soviet leadership since the Stalinist purges of the thirties, even though only relatively few people have had as yet to pay the supreme penalty of death.²³ While they brought an important turnover on the All-Union level, their main weight fell on the party command in the republics.

The Satellite Scene

Having considered the nature and meaning of the post-Stalin personnel and organizational changes in the Soviet Union, let us now turn to the satellite scene. Ever since their incorporation in the orbit of Soviet power there has been a gradual process of sovietization in every satellite country—at first

²³ The list of high party and government functionaries who have so far been executed since Stalin's death includes the following: Lavrenti Beria, full member of the party's Presidium, First Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR; N. V. Merkulov, alternate member of the party's Central Committee, Minister of State Control of the USSR, and former Minister of State Security of the USSR; V. Abakumov, former Minister of State Security of the USSR; V. G. Dekanosov, Minister of Internal Affairs of Georgia; P. Y. Meshik, Deputy Premier and Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine; B. Z. Kobulov, alternate member of the party's Central Committee, Deputy Minister of State Security of the USSR, and Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission in Germany; S. A. Goglidze, Colonel General of State Security Forces, alternate member of the party's Central Committee, former People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of Georgia and thereafter Head of the Khabarovsk Territory Office of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR; M. D. Ryumin, Deputy Minister of State Security of the USSR; L. E. Vlodzimirsky, Head of the Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR; A. G. Leonov, V. J. Komarov, and M. T. Likhechev, high officials of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR.

rather slow, hesitant, and uneven, but steadily gaining momentum and becoming more uniform as time has been passing by. This obedient adherence to the Soviet pattern in party and government matters does not seem to have slackened following Stalin's death. Thus separate ministries of state security, only recently created in the satellite countries in an endeavor to parallel the earlier Soviet pattern, began to disappear quickly in one satellite after another following the post-Stalin fusion of the Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.²⁴ Yet when the Soviet Union restored the old MGB in the form of a Committee on State Security, the satellite governments, caught completely by surprise, also began to copy the latest fashion, with Poland initiating the trend in December, 1954. Having at last managed to catch up with the Soviet model in establishing multihead government presidiums as a kind of "inner cabinet,"²⁵ the satellite Communists saw the substantial Soviet reduction in the number of deputy premiers after Stalin's death and began to follow suit²⁶—only to find the trend once gain reversed in the Soviet Union in December, 1953.

A similar mix-up occurred in determining the number of ministries. Having split ministries and increased their number, along the earlier Soviet line, the satellites found themselves suddenly confronted with the post-Stalinist mergers. Once again the docile pupils began to merge their ministries,²⁷ only to suffer dismay at the recent Soviet additions to the roster of ministries, and to reverse their trend accordingly.

The same Procrustean behavior is noticeable in inner party organization. When the Soviet Communists de-emphasized somewhat, after Stalin's death, the position of the party's first secretary by abandoning the title "Secretary General" and replacing it with "First Secretary of the Central Committee," and also reduced the membership of the party's Presidium, the hints were not lost on the satellite comrades. The Hungarian party fell into line in June, 1953, by abolishing the function of secretary general, dissolving its Orgbureau, creating a three-man Secretariat of the Central Committee with Party Boss Rakosi as First Secretary, and reducing from fourteen to nine the membership of the Politbureau. Eastern Germany followed a month later. Czechoslovakia, which had abolished the function of secretary general after Slánský's purge in 1951, readapted itself by creating formally the position "First Secretary of the Central Committee" in September, 1953, only a week after Khrushchëv had been officially confirmed in a similar position

²⁴ In Czechoslovakia in October, 1953; in Eastern Germany in July, 1953; in Rumania in January, 1954.

²⁵ Poland in November, 1952; Czechoslovakia in January, 1953.

²⁶ Hungary in July, 1953; Czechoslovakia in September, 1953; Poland in March, 1954.

²⁷ Czechoslovakia in September, 1953; Rumania in October and November, 1953; East Germany in November, 1953.

in the USSR, and by replacing the larger Presidium with a smaller Politbyro and abolishing its Orgbyro in June, 1954. The Rumanian party took a similar step in April, 1954, and the Bulgarian party in February, 1954.

As could be expected, the reorganization was accompanied by personnel shifts. However, a careful consideration of the main figures who have suffered demotion or gained promotion in the satellite world since Stalin's death shows that the satellite changes have so far been less significant than those of the Soviet Union. A number of high-ranking satellite Communists were switched to lesser functions, as Bacilek in Czechoslovakia or Vidrascu in Rumania. A few fell completely, as Zaisser in East Germany, Nagy in Hungary, and Patrascanu in Rumania. But up to now there have been no purges or denunciations approaching those which characterized the hectic developments of 1945-52 or the anti-Beria campaign in the USSR.

The most spectacular of the satellite personnel reshuffles were Rakosi's resignation as Prime Minister of Hungary, Bierut's resignation as Prime Minister of Poland and Gheorghiu-Dej's abandonment of the post of Secretary General of the Rumanian Communist party. But there was no question of any demotion in these three instances. Rakosi and Bierut retained the most important party position, that of first secretary of the Central Committee, while Gheorghiu-Dej continued as Prime Minister of Rumania. All available evidence indicates that they in fact continued, and continue, to play first fiddle in the politics of their respective countries. Quite obviously the main purpose of the three changes was to emulate the latest Soviet development of assigning the two top positions, that of the party's first secretary and that of prime minister, to different men.²⁸ Thus the only real elimination of a top satellite Communist in the post-Stalin era thus far has been the deposition of Hungarian Prime Minister Nagy, who was made a scapegoat for the failure of the "New Course" in Hungary.

The Polish rearrangement acquires special political interest for two additional reasons. The new premier, Joseph Cyrankiewicz, is a former Social Democrat, and this is indeed a phenomenon behind the Iron Curtain today. Giving Social Democrats top government positions was customary in the middle forties, a policy dictated solely by considerations of revolutionary tactics of the period prior to the complete Communist seizure of power. When they had served their purpose, one after the other the former Social Democrats were purged, or at best retained in inferior positions, e.g., Szakasits in Hungary, and Fierlinger, John, and Erban in Czechoslovakia. The remnants of "social democratism" have since become a major target of

²⁸ Factual information (in English) on these and other developments in Moscow's European satellites may be found in *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*, a monthly magazine published in New York by the Free Europe Committee.

Communist ideological crusades.²⁹ Cyrankiewicz himself had to yield to Bierut when the time came for Poland in November, 1952, to emulate the then Soviet example by merging the top party position with that of the prime minister. The post-Stalin reappointment of the former Social Democrat Cyrankiewicz as Premier of Poland thus amounted to a reversal of previous practice, a reversal which has not so far been duplicated anywhere else behind the Iron Curtain.

The other notable feature of the Polish reshuffle was the appointment of two Jewish Communists, H. Minc and J. Berman, as First Deputy Premier and Third Deputy Premier respectively. These two men, who used to play a prominent part in the Polish party, were believed to be losing ground following the "anticosmopolite" drive which had appeared behind the Iron Curtain in the early fifties, in particular after the purge of Slánský and Company in Czechoslovakia and the first "doctors' plot" in the USSR.

Collective Leadership Re-emphasized

Although considerable changes took place in the organizational pattern of the highest party and government organs, the basic principles underlying them and guiding their operation did not undergo any alteration worth mentioning—except in one highly interesting aspect: collective leadership.

The place of the principle of collective leadership within Communist doctrine and practice has for long years been somewhat shifty, Communist theory pulling mostly in the direction of collective leadership and Bolshevik practice in the direction of "one-man rule." The fickle relationship between the *kollegialnost*, the collective principle, and the *edinonachalie*, the one-man rule, in Soviet administration and industrial management at various stages in the past serves as a fitting illustration. However, as pointed out earlier, the latter years of the Stalin era were certainly characterized by a definite supremacy of the one-man rule over the collegiate principle, most of all in the topmost leadership which was centered in one man only, in Stalin. The process of Stalin's deification reached its peak toward the end of the Second World War, then spread quickly to the satellite world, and began to verge on the ridiculous.

The abruptness with which it ended, once the funeral orations were over and Stalin's body was put to rest, was truly amazing. Almost overnight Stalin was pulled down from the pedestal of infallible demigod and placed

²⁹ As one of the recent examples, cf. Novotný's and Fierlinger's speeches at the Tenth Congress of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia (see *Rudé Právo*, June 12 and 13, 1954); also R. Vetiska's attack on social democratism in his article "Important Factor in Training Party Cadres," in *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, No. 32; Andras Kurti, *Some Aspects of the Fight Against Social Democracy* (Budapest, 1954); J. S. Hajek, *The Nefarious Task of Right-wing Social Democracy* (Prague, 1954).

well below Lenin as well as below the party. His name, formerly repeated *ad nauseam* and adorned with various flowery adjectives, began to be mentioned only sporadically, and even then usually in connection with Lenin and other historical figures of world communism. Even the eulogy with which he was honored by the Moscow radio and the Soviet newspapers on the first anniversary of his death in March, 1954, was entitled "The Great Exponent of Lenin's Cause."³⁰ Towards the end of 1954, Stalin's name began again to reappear somewhat more frequently and his seventy-fifth birthday, December, 1954, was remembered with a number of articles and celebrations.³¹ It seems, however, that the primary purpose of all the fanfare was Khrushchëv's endeavor to borrow the authority of the dead leader in support of the heavy-industry slogan used in his struggle with Malenkov.

In place of the former glorifications of Stalin's genial leadership, Soviet publications began to condemn "conceited" individual leadership and to extol the wonderful virtues of collective leadership. *Pravda* set the new tone as early as April, 1953,³² and continued to hammer the collective-leadership idea into the minds of its readers both before and after Beria's ouster. Perhaps the most exhaustive and most important statement on this subject is contained in the Manifesto issued by the party on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, July, 1953:

It is necessary to eradicate from the Party's propaganda work incorrect, un-Marxist treatment of the question of the role of the individual personality in history, a treatment taking the form of propaganda alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, of the idealistic theory of the cult of individual leader. The cult of individual leader contradicts the principle of collective leadership, leads to belittling the role of the Party and of its guiding center. . . . The Party bases itself on the fact that only the collective experience and collective wisdom of the central committee, resting on the scientific foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and the broad initiative of the command personnel ensures correct leadership of the Party and country.³³

A similar antipersonal tone appeared in the new version of the Communist party history published in 1953 as compared to the 1939 edition.³⁴ Yet another act of "de-Stalinization" took place in shifting to normal daylight office hours for government work and away from the irregular hours

³⁰ *Pravda*, March 5, 1954.

³¹ Cf. Kruzhkov's article "J. V. Stalin—Great Continuer of the Cause of V. I. Lenin," in *Pravda*, December 21, 1954; M. Mitin's article "Stalin, an Outstanding Theoretician of Marxism," in *Pravda*, December 19, 1954; and F. Konstantinov's article in *Izvestia*, December 21, 1954.

³² See Slepov's article in *Pravda*, April 16, 1953.

³³ *Pravda*, July 26, 1953 (English text in *Current Digest of Soviet Press*, Vol. V, No. 33, pp. 31 ff.).

³⁴ *New York Times*, July 28, 1953.

which had been adapted to Stalin's habits of working in the afternoon and late hours of the night.³⁵

With the customary slight delay, the same theme was taken over by the satellites. Stalin's name almost ceased to be mentioned in 1953-54, while modest commemorative articles appeared in the satellite press on the occasion of the second anniversary of Stalin's death, March, 1955. The excellence of collective leadership was placed at the top of all Communist virtues. Satellite newspapers of post-Stalin time bear ample evidence of the new trend,³⁶ as does the official Cominform journal, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, which published in its September 4, 1953, issue an article from the pen of one of the top-ranking Hungarian Communists, Lajos Acs, sharply criticising one-man rule and praising collective leadership. One may add in this connection that the new emphasis on collective leadership in the satellite countries did not amount to such a sharp reversal as it did in the Soviet Union. The satellite Communist parties have always operated more on the basis of the collective-leadership principle, or, to be more accurate, of the oligarchical principles, even though in some of them personal buildup of the top man had been making some headway. Tito came nearest to the stature of a "little Stalin," with Gottwald of Czechoslovakia trailing some distance behind.

If we now attempt to analyze the reasons behind the new emphasis on collective leadership, the obvious conclusion seems to be that Stalin's heirs resorted to it not because of any real belief in the intrinsic superiority of the collective-leadership principle over one-man rule, but because it had been forced upon them by the practical necessities resulting from Stalin's death. Since there was no one among them who could take over where Stalin left off, an open clash could be prevented only by replacing the dictatorship of one man by an oligarchy of the top contenders. However, although such a situation is somewhat more in accord with the postulates of Communist theory than was Stalin's one-man dictatorship, it is in complete contradiction to the established traditions of Russian bolshevism and the inner forces which determine its development. That strange cross-breeding of Marxian communism with Oriental despotism can operate with full effectiveness only under one-man leadership. Each member of the ruling oligarchy realizes that he can achieve maximum safety against the danger of personal liquidation only if he can establish himself as the supreme boss, or at least manage

³⁵ The decree on hours of work in Soviet offices was published in *Pravda*, September 1, 1953 (English text in *Current Digest of Soviet Press*, Vol. V, No. 33, pp. 3-4).

³⁶ For the stress on collective leadership and criticism of one-man rule and of the "cult of personalities," see *Rudé Právo*, August 2, 1953; for Novotný's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Czechoslovakian Communist party in June, 1954, see *Rudé Právo*, June 12, 1954. Some examples from Hungary may be found in *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Vol. 2, No. 10, p. 8.

to attach himself to such a boss, help him, and thus come under his protective hand. Under such circumstances, collective leadership constitutes only an uneasy truce between different cliques, is the second-best arrangement, and tends to be merely a temporary expedient until such time as one or another member of the oligarchy takes over. That was so after Lenin's death, and there is no reason to believe that it is essentially different after the death of Stalin.

The struggle for supreme power and the long series of purges on central, republican, and local levels which have been going on with undiminished intensity since Stalin's death point clearly in that direction. However, no full-fledged public buildup of a new leader has so far materialized in the Soviet Union proper, except for the earlier-mentioned clumsy attempt with the Malenkov-Stalin-Mao-Tse-tung composograph and some subtle pushing in favor of Khrushchëv in the latter part of 1954. Some very slight attempts at Malenkov's buildup appeared in 1953 on the satellite scene. Thus, for example, the Czechoslovakian newspaper *Svoboda* published, on August 15, 1953, an editorial referring to Malenkov as "Stalin's best disciple" whose "every word gives us strength."³⁷ Malenkov's speech of August 8, 1953, introducing the "New Course," received tremendous publicity throughout the satellite countries. On the other hand, Khrushchëv was also given considerable attention in the satellite press in connection with his sixtieth birthday.

Yet there have so far been only modest instances, in no way comparable to the personal adulation of Stalin's day. They are overshadowed by the continued praise of collective leadership as the highest Communist virtue. Thus Voroshilov made it the main theme of his address before the Hungarian Communist Party Congress in Budapest in May, 1954; and satellite Communist leaders have lately been competing with one another in condemning personal rule and extolling the old-new collective deity.³⁸

Purges and Policies

One last item must be briefly considered with regard to post-Stalin personnel and organizational shifts: In what way, if any, are those changes correlated with matters of policy-making? Some students of the Soviet scene

³⁷ *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Vol. 2, No. 10, p. 10.

³⁸ Cf. Nagy's speech at the Hungarian Party Congress in May, 1954; Chervenkov's speech of January 26, 1954 (English translation in *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Vol. 3, No. 8, p. 54); Novotný's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Czechoslovakian party in June, 1954, in *Rudé Právo*, June 12, 1954; for Bierut's speech at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Communist) party in January, 1955, see *Trybuna Ludu*, January, 1955 (English translation in *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 57).

seek to explain personnel changes in the Soviet top hierarchy in terms of changed policies. When they note that a certain prominent Communist has been promoted, demoted, or transferred, they delve into the background, past activities, and statements of that person and attempt, on that basis, to estimate what change of policy this or that appointment or demotion may portend.

Such a yardstick was applied to the struggle between Malenkov and Beria and their respective cliques, and two major areas of policy-conflict were brought into the picture. One concerned the Soviet policy towards Germany; the other, the complex issue of non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. On the first count, it was asserted that there had been repeated clashes of opinion with regard to the German economy ever since 1945—at first, in particular, as to how many enterprises of heavy industry were to remain in Germany,³⁹ and later on as to whether a softer or harsher policy was better. On the second count—the nationalities issue—it was argued that Beria and his associates clashed with the Malenkov group because they had taken a stand against Russification of non-Russian groups.⁴⁰ When the Khrushchëv-Malenkov struggle reached its culmination, again it was pointed out that their clash turned on a policy issue, i.e., whether there should be more emphasis or less on light industry. On that basis it was even suggested by some outside observers that Khrushchëv's victory over Malenkov would lead to the substitution of a "get-tougher" foreign policy for Malenkov's "softer" approach.

There is in both those matters solid evidence that the asserted policy disagreements did in fact exist. That does not mean, however, that they were the main reason for the Malenkov-Beria or Malenkov-Khrushchëv struggles and the elimination of the losers. The day has long since passed when prominent Bolsheviks risked liquidation for too much insistence on this or that policy. The long years of stultifying Stalinist monolatry has supplied them with the mentality of band-wagon jumpers and has made them fully aware of the deadly danger of deviationism. The readiness to save oneself by "confession," self-incrimination, and public repentance was not forgotten the moment Stalin died. Malenkov readily marched the Canossa way in February, 1955, hoping to save his skin by publicly admitting his guilt and responsibility. And there is no reason to believe that Beria, Merkulov, Abakumov, Dekanosov, or any other Communist would not have gladly repudiated any policy he might have pursued or allegedly pursued if such action could have saved him.

³⁹ See Vladimir Rudolph in Robert Slusser, *Soviet Economic Policy in Post-War Germany*, 22 ff.

⁴⁰ *World Today*, November, 1953, p. 481 ff.

Hence the conclusion follows that neither Beria's purge nor Malenkov's fall, or any other of the post-Stalin changes in the top Communist hierarchy, were really motivated by disagreements on policy, but must mainly be viewed as concomitants of the struggle for succession, any policy-question being brought into the picture only as pretext for liquidation. It did happen upon occasion that, when a new policy or new tactics were adopted, the man associated with the earlier policy was replaced by a new exponent. The best examples thereof are offered by the substitution of Molotov as Foreign Minister for Litvinov in 1939 and of Bulganin for Malenkov in 1955. Such devices were adopted, however, not because the former office-holder could not be counted upon to execute obediently the changed policy, but for other reasons, such as considerations of propaganda and tactics, need of personal liquidation, and the like.

So one is tempted to conclude with the proverbial French saying: *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

The Origins of Spanish Anarchism

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HISTORIANS, diplomats, and travelers have frequently speculated on the strength and persistence of the anarchist movement in Spain. The world press has on numerous occasions since the mid-nineteenth century carried reports of peasant uprisings in Andalusia. Anarchists played leading roles in the cantonal revolts of 1873, in the industrial struggles centered in Barcelona during and after the First World War, and in the collectivizations—both industrial and rural—attempted between 1934–38, just prior to and during the Spanish Civil War. Observers have pointed out similarities between the Andalusian peasant revolts and those of Germany during the Thirty Years' War or of France before the Revolution of 1789. They have seen the influence of Bakunin in anarchist ideology and have attributed the Spanish success of the First International to the organizing efforts of the Italian Fanelli.¹ The anarchosindicalist trade-union movement from 1900 onward appears likewise as a branch of a contemporary international movement; and the collectivizations of the Civil War period—the work of anarchists and socialists rather than of Muscovite communists—clearly imitate the example of the Russian Revolution in its early stages.

But these analogies, so useful in characterizing the political history of Spanish anarchism, do not truly account for the indigenous rural anarchism which has long characterized Spain, nor for the deep hold of many anarchist conceptions among the Spanish people generally. In the record of anarchist activity from 1860 to 1939, certain constant elements appear which relate directly to the matrix of Spanish historical experience. It is the purpose of this study, without in any sense denying the importance of outside influences, to point up those factors in Spanish history, thought, and social tradition which have predisposed a large proportion of the Spanish people to sympathize in varying degrees with proposals and ideas commonly associated with anarchism.

The basic economic program of the anarchists, called for in their propaganda and acted upon in their revolts, has always emphasized local au-

¹ On the key role of Bakunin, see, for example, Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1950), 131–32; on Fanelli, *ibid.*, 139–40, and Pierre Vilar, *Histoire de l'Espagne* (No. 275 in the series "Que sais-je?" [Paris, 1947]), 79.

tonomy, the collectivization or distribution of large estates, and a policy of noninterference with small property.² The program was shaped largely to meet the needs of Andalusian peasants and landless laborers, who looked upon absentee landlords and Castilian officials as their great enemies. When in the twentieth century it was modified to appeal to the industrial workers of Barcelona (many of whom were former peasants from Andalusia and the Levant coast), collectivization, combined with local autonomy, meant collectivization according to the anarchosyndicalist ideal of management by a committee of workers and technicians, *without* government intervention. The policy of noninterference with small property was dictated first by the fact that any successful anarchist activity in Andalusia depended upon the support of small independent farmers,³ and later by the fact that a large proportion of the anarchist recruits in Aragon, Catalonia, and the Levant were peasants holding quasi-permanent leases if not actually owning their land.⁴

As would be natural for any group emphasizing local autonomy and opposed to the apparatus of the modern state, the anarchists possessed little formal organization and little, if any, nation-wide co-ordination. In the villages each *centro obrero* (Workmen's Center) or *sindicato* determined its own qualifications for membership, and decided independently on the use and timing of such tactics as the general strike and the boycott. The anarchists kept no membership lists and, for the most part, had no salaried officials. In moments of expanding revolutionary activity, their numbers swelled rapidly; in the lean years between, a handful of militants in each province kept the movement alive through sustained propaganda. The villages were clandestinely supplied with anarchist newspapers and pamphlets—precious objects passed religiously among trusted individuals—and read aloud for the benefit of all by those few self-educated *campesinos* who were literate. The ignorance and poverty of the anarchist masses left them incapable of sustained organizational activity, and their dependence upon particular leaders was extreme. Thus Díaz del Moral reports that when one

² For information on the collectivizations of the Civil War period, see Franz Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit* (London, 1937), 102–03, 149–51, 166–67; also Brennan, *Spanish Labyrinth*, 275, 319–20. For an earlier example, see J. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas-Córdoba* (Madrid, 1929), p. 216, concerning a collective experiment at Bujalance in 1905. This work is cited hereafter as *Historia*. Díaz del Moral, whose book is the only carefully documented study ever made of the social struggle in rural Spain, was a lawyer and a moderate republican.

³ Díaz del Moral, *Historia* 302–04.

⁴ For the special situation of the Catalan small farmers (known as *rabassaires*) and their relation to anarchist groupings, see Francisco Madrid, *Ocho meses y un día en el gobierno civil de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1932), 243–47.

Antonio Viñas Hierro of Cabra was given free passage and a passport to Argentina, the anarchist movement in Cabra melted away.⁵

The anarchists pinned their ultimate hopes on the power of education. Like most persons with strong faith in the efficacy of education, they believed in the fundamental goodness of human nature; specifically, as anarchists, they believed in the autonomy of each individual and in his capacity for moral responsibility.⁶ Once the work of education was done, once each human being would be aware of his capacities and rights, of the possibility of the good life, only a brief revolution would be necessary to usher in Utopia. Unity of the farm laborers, small peasants, and artisans; expulsion of the Civil Guard and the agents of the landlords; a declaration of *comunismo libertario*, together with collective cultivation of the large estates—accomplish these aims and the economic and social problems of Spain would be solved, village by village and province by province.

Such was the naïve faith of the anarchist masses in each great wave of exultation: in the period of the First Republic, 1868–73; in the first decade of the present century, when the direct influence of Élisée Reclus and of the French syndicalists was at its height, and when the general strike was being developed as a revolutionary weapon; in the years 1918–20 after the Russian Revolution; and in the time of the Second Republic. This millenary form of rural anarchism had its parallel in the belief of the anarchosindicalist workers in 1936 that expropriation and collective management of each separate industrial aggregate in Barcelona would resolve the industrial problems of Spain. The apocalyptic nature of the revolution, while kindling the enthusiasm of the masses, was responsible also for the absolute terror aroused among the rural gentry and the conservative *bourgeoisie*, for the quick collapse of unco-ordinated local movements which inevitably left their followers disillusioned when the Golden Age failed to materialize, and for the ease with which the anarchist ranks were penetrated by the worst criminal elements.

The general program and methodology of the anarchists were accompanied by certain characteristic attitudes. The *obrero consciente*—the worker bent on self-improvement both physically and psychologically—avoided the use of alcohol and tobacco. He read popularized texts in the social and the natural sciences. Learning of the advances of medical science, and aware in general terms of the evolutionary "survival of the fittest," he stressed a healthful diet and temperate habits. He was interested also in new techniques of agriculture. Obtaining his notions of the social sciences from the posi-

⁵ Díaz del Moral, *Historia*, 209.

⁶ For a concise general summary of the European anarchist movement and ideology the author has depended largely on Henri Arvon, *L'anarchisme* (No. 479 in the series "Que sais-je?" [Paris, 1951]).

tivists, he imbibed from them a faith in scientific progress and a scorn for religion.

The anarchists favored the elimination of money, and one of the first acts of an anarchist village council after the declaration of *comunismo libertario* was the establishment of a barter economy. Their ideas concerning property were ambiguous,⁷ and they were opposed generally to all written law as somehow always working out to the benefit of the handful of the rich and powerful. They were opposed to the Church, their own millenary faith constituting a religion itself. Finally they were anti-Castilian, so much so that such a revered leader as Anselmo Lorenzo frequently felt the suspicion of his comrades because he came originally from Madrid.⁸ Waves of exaltation in Andalusia, at the turn of the century, in 1910, and after the Russian Revolution, followed directly upon climactic moments of syndicalist struggle in Barcelona, and attempted naïvely to apply the tactics of the general strike to the solution of rural social problems. And with the centering of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Barcelona and the migration of Andalusian and Murcian workers to that city, the orientation of the anarchists became increasingly pro-Catalan and anti-Castilian.⁹

How do the foregoing summarized program and characteristics of Spanish anarchism relate to the historical experience of Spain? The belief in locally governed collectives represents a logical extension of numerous existing institutions. In the mountains of Navarre and Aragon, in Catalan fishing villages, and among the agricultural communities of the Levant coast many forms of collective endeavor are traditional. In agricultural villages of northern and eastern Spain, seed distribution, grain storage, tools, and hunting and fishing rights may all be collectively managed. In some of the more isolated villages no money exists, or else a local currency is used instead of the peseta. On the Levant coast, where rainfall is light, locally elected tribunals—of which the Valencian *Cort de la Seo* is only the most famous—govern the distribution of water and see to the upkeep of irrigation channels. And in certain Catalan fishing villages, nets, boats, and storage facilities are owned in common, and the catch is marketed collectively.¹⁰

⁷ Díaz del Moral, *Historia*, 204–05. The author also includes, as appendices, reports of a number of anarchist congresses whose debates and resolutions frequently reflect this ambiguity: redistribution *vs.* collectivization.

⁸ Anselmo Lorenzo, *El proletariado militante* (Mexico, D.F., 194–), 340–41. Lorenzo, the "grand old man" of Spanish anarchism, died in 1914. These memoirs, covering the period from 1868 to 1880, were written in the last decade of his life.

⁹ Brenan, *Spanish Labyrinth*, 173–81. The regional nature of anarchism in Spain is strongly emphasized also in A. Sieberer, *Espagne contre Espagne* (trans. from the German by B. Medici-Cavin [Geneva, 1937]). See especially pp. 167–68.

¹⁰ For specific descriptions of rural collectives, see Rafael Altamira, *Historia de la propiedad comunal* (Madrid, 1890), 235–36, 303–08; Joaquín Costa, *Colectivismo agrario en España* (2d ed., Madrid, 1915), 541–45, cited hereafter as *Colectivismo agrario*; J. Langdon-

Spanish tradition abounds in collective institutions bearing striking similarity to the *sindicato único* of modern anarchosyndicalist doctrine. Before the discovery of America, and before the efforts of Charles V to mobilize the resources of the peninsula for the simultaneous conquest of Europe and of the New World, local government was strong in Spain—and it was a Spain remembered as more prosperous than the exhausted and depopulated Spain of the Habsburg kings. The municipality was ruled by the *concejo abierto*, which consisted by definition of all the adult men of the village; this *concejo* in turn chose, on a rotating basis, the *cabildo*, or group of municipal officers. When in 1918 and 1919, in the wake of the Russian Revolution, numerous villages proclaimed the state of *comunismo libertario*, and when again they did the same thing during the period of the Second Republic, they managed their affairs through a *sindicato único* which replaced the royal or republican-appointed officials as the governing body of the village. The *sindicato único* included all the male adults of the village except those directly serving the central government or the absentee landlords, and its committees followed the practice of rotation in office. Thus did the village revolutions of the twentieth century adopt, in a new political context, a type of local government formerly characteristic of rural Spain.¹¹

Spain is also a country in which the medieval type of guild has struck deeper roots than in Northern Europe. Although the guilds of the artisans were suppressed in Spain as elsewhere with the coming of industrial capitalism, the guild-type of organization remains important in other fields. Agricultural *cofradías* date back to the Middle Ages, and include such features as life and burial insurance, sickness compensation, and loan funds. Frequently named for the patron saint of the district, they generally enjoy the approval of the local priest. In the Levant, *gremios* of small farmers were established as late as the nineteenth century for the purpose of indemnifying members for robberies and injuries to property.¹² There exists, then, in rural Spain a strong tradition of "mutualist" organizations of the sort called for by Proudhon and experimented with in various utopian socialist colonies.

Monastic example also played a role in the creation of collectivist traditions. Prior to the expropriation of the Church's estates by Liberal governments in the mid-nineteenth century, numerous rural properties were being cultivated by groups of monks. Since monks and local priests were the principal intellectual and political leaders of the Spanish masses until the time of

Davies, *Behind the Spanish Barricades* (London, 1936), 66–71; Wentworth Webster, "La propiedad común en el norte de España," *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, X (1886), 350–56.

¹¹ Brenan, *Spanish Labyrinth*, footnote N. 201–02.

¹² A. Rumeu de Armas, *Historia de la prevision social en España* (Madrid, 1944), 373–78; also Costa, *Colectivismo agrario*, 355–72.

the expropriation, the example given the peasants was one of order and relative prosperity based on collective cultivation of large holdings.

Thus when anarchist literature flooded rural Spain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it found an audience familiar in its own experience with forms of collectivism and local autonomy. And the work of propaganda and education was done largely by a species of lay monks, whose leadership frequently replaced the leadership of churchmen. The anarchist organizers were mostly self-educated artisans or farm laborers, ascetics in diet and dress, who moved about the country on foot, accepting no pay but the rude hospitality offered by the local peasants; they were men who had gone hungry and who had spent years in prison for the sake of the faith. Their lives cannot be documented accurately since, as a matter of principle, the anarchists did not keep written records; but from various informal memoirs and from realistic fictional portraits, one can form a vivid impression of their personalities.

Typical of the most effective among them were José Sanchez Rosa and Fermin Salvochea. Sanchez Rosa, son of a shoemaker, worked in the fields during the day and as a cobbler at night. In two years of schooling, from the age of twelve to fourteen, he learned to read well; and as a boy in his teens he read aloud and explained the anarchist press at secret night-meetings. He was a veteran of the January, 1892, assault on Jerez de la Frontera, and in prison he had known a comrade of the leading French anarchist, Élisée Reclus. Amnestied in the early 1900's, he dedicated himself to the founding of schools for the children of workers in Seville, Córdoba, Cádiz, and Tangier. He was the author of simple dramatic dialogues in which the Good and the True (anarchism) humiliated and confounded Error (capitalism)—dialogues similar in form to the traditionally presented playlets in which Christian knights first defeated Moors in combat and then proceeded verbally to convince them of the truth of the Gospel.¹³

Fermin Salvochea, mentor of Sanchez Rosa when both were in prison, would be the principal saint in any anarchist martyrology. "Who does not know instances," writes the anarchist historian Buenacasa, "a thousand times repeated, in which Salvochea remained without cap and without overcoat because of having given them to the needy? And his supreme chivalry in bestowing a piano upon a young girl who, having desired it, lamented the impossibility of her acquiring one."¹⁴

In *La Bodega*, one of his novels dealing with contemporary social questions, Blasco-Ibáñez writes of the anarchist uprising of 1892 at Jerez de la

¹³ Díaz del Moral, *Historia*, 263-67.

¹⁴ Manuel Buenacasa, *El movimiento obrero español, 1886-1926* (Barcelona, 1928), 156-57.

Frontera. The personality of the hero, Fernando Salvatierra, is modeled upon that of the famous anarchist leader Fermin Salvochea. Salvatierra is portrayed as a lay saint who continues to live on bread and water after his release from an eight-year prison term. A man of some education, he had acted as prison doctor, taught English to one of his fellow convicts, and shared his meals and clothes freely with all the prisoners. Among the workmen and salaried employees of Jerez he inspires a well-nigh religious awe, and even among the overlords of the district he has a high reputation for integrity and ascetic virtue. His religion consists in a pantheistic affirmation of the soul; his ethics is based upon great moderation in diet, dress, and physical desires; his social program is anarchist communism.

The author states that, two centuries earlier, the anarchist leader would have been a mendicant friar. Recorded historic instances as well as obvious psychological parallels support such an interpretation. In 1660 a Franciscan friar, Martínez de la Mata, who preached in the public squares of Andalusia and called himself the "servant of the poor afflicted," was prosecuted by the municipality of Seville for making propagandistic speeches and distributing pamphlets among the workingmen. Particularly inflammatory, in the opinion of one of the accusing aldermen, were his references to the revolt of the *comunidades* in 1520 against the absolutist, centralizing efforts of Charles V.¹⁵ Slightly more than two hundred years later, one of the principal anarchist organizers and orators in Seville was Nicolas Alonso Marselau, a former theology student. Marselau moved from left-wing republicanism to anarchism in the late 1860's and founded the newspaper *La Razón*, which became the organ of the First International in Seville. Later he went blind, and during the last Carlist war, abjured his errors to become a Trappist monk.¹⁶

In personal traits, style of life, and techniques of preaching, the anarchist leaders often resembled the friars of old, but, for the former, salvation would come not through charity and mystical faith, but through social revolution and knowledge. In the cities, where artisans and intellectuals were numerous in their ranks, the anarchists called for a program of *enseñanza integral*: instruction combining the humanities, manual trades, personal hygiene, and ethical development—in somewhat the fashion of present-day "progressive" schools.¹⁷

In the villages their educational program consisted principally of efforts to combat illiteracy and to emphasize a more healthful life through the avoidance of alcohol and tobacco. The personal austerity and the educational

¹⁵ Costa, *Colectivismo agrario*, 111.

¹⁶ A. Lorenzo, *El proletariado militante*, 155–56.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 248–50. For the program and ideology of such schools, the Escuela Moderna, which functioned in Barcelona from 1901 to 1906, see Francisco Ferrer, *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School*, trans. Joseph McCabe (New York, 1913).

zeal of the anarchist leaders won them the admiration of the rural masses. The first objective of each *centro obrero* was the creation of a school and library. While the anarchist press and the textbooks published by the Escuela Moderna of Francisco Ferrer would always be prominent, the shelves also included Spanish literature and contemporary European literature in translation. Díaz del Moral, comparing the socialist with the anarchist organizations in the Córdoba area, attributes the greater prestige of the anarchists to their emphasis on schooling, their avoidance of alcohol and of luxury generally, and the fact that their officials were not paid.¹⁸ This is not to say that the socialists were indifferent to the importance of education, but since they considered it properly as a state function, their local organizations did not emphasize it so much; and in the eyes of the *campesino* it was the anarchists who were attempting to implement his education. From the 1860's onward, the anarchist missionary and teacher, with his naïvely rationalist and atheist outlook, largely replaced the priest as the ideological leader of the peasantry in southern and eastern Spain.

Anarchist conceptions of property and law, and of the origins of society, also closely resembled certain aspects of traditional Christian thought in Spain. The historian Rafael Altamira, summing up the economic doctrines of primitive Christianity, saw two interlocking principles: Messianism, and the social revolution of the poor against the rich. Many of the saints had insisted that land is the common property of all men, that man before the Fall lived in a state of communism, that private property is but a temporary circumstance, and that wealth is a sin.¹⁹ In the political economy of Juan de Mariana, sixteenth-century Spanish historian and Jesuit theologian, private property originated in theft, and it was the duty of the State to see to the more equal distribution of property, to ensure that all land be cultivated, and that provision be made for the old and infirm. For Pedro de Valencia, court historian of Philip III, all property had been held collectively in the infancy of the human race; and private property now should be restricted to the usufruct of that land which a man needed in order to make a living. Finally, numerous writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reported in glowing terms the collective institutions of the Incas and the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay.²⁰

It is not necessary to suppose that the anarchists were reading the works of Greek, Latin, and Spanish theologians—though many Spaniards were, as a matter of fact, reading the New Testament in translations provided by the

¹⁸ Díaz del Moral, *Historia*, 309–12.

¹⁹ Altamira, *Historia de la propiedad comunal*, 130–43.

²⁰ Costa, *Colectivismo agrario*, 57–84.

British and Foreign Bible Society.²¹ In the era of the Reformation, contact with the Bible in their own language had imbued sections of the German and English peasantry with millenary quasi-anarchist beliefs. And some of Borrow's experiences in the 1830's suggest that the reading of the Spanish translation opened many a peasant's eyes to the social implications of the Gospel. In any case the ideals of the saints, and in simplified form the ideas of seventeenth-century theologians, were part of the "climate of opinion" in which Spaniards lived. How far is it from the Garden of Eden, from the notion of property as theft, from the conviction that all land was originally man's common patrimony, from the exaltation of the poor over the rich, to the economic and social program of the anarchists?

Christian thought provided the basis also for anarchist attitudes towards law and all institutions of coercion. Spanish thinkers have repeatedly referred to Paul's Letter to the Galatians, in which he justified man not by works of law but by faith in Christ. Before the coming of faith, law was necessary as a guide, but once faith has been achieved, men are no longer under the tutelage of law. The seventeenth-century jurist Cerdan de Tallada stated simply that in a society characterized by harmony and good administration, laws would be superfluous. For Fray Alonso de Castrillo, all obedience except that of children to parents was by nature unjust, since we were all born equal and free.²² The concern of these thinkers with problems of law and government rose in considerable measure from the pitiful condition of the Spanish peasantry while Catholic Spain stood at the apogee of her world power; and their political recommendations looked towards the solution of agrarian problems. For all of them law was at best a necessary evil. Their writings emphasized repeatedly the contrast between law, identified with external coercion, and the inner light, identified with reason and virtue.

The agrarian problems of Spain and the psychology of her peasants and landlords remained in 1900 much the same as they had been in 1600,²³ and anarchist thought frequently coincided with that of the seventeenth-century theologians and jurists. In anarchist experience, law was a weapon of the rich; in anarchist thinking, guidance of the inner light was the only valid morality. Education, plus personal liberty coupled with moral responsibility, would restore man to the conditions obtaining in the Golden Age. *Comunismo libertario* was identified with human society before the Fall.

²¹ See George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain* (Everyman ed., London and New York, 1906), 343 and *passim*.

²² Examples cited are from P. Dorado-Montero, *Valor social de leyes y autoridades* ("Manuales-Soler" No. 83 [Barcelona, 1903]), 11-15, cited hereafter as *Valor social*. The author is indebted to Professor Américo Castro for suggesting this most illuminating study of Spanish attitudes towards law and constituted authority.

²³ Brenan, *Spanish Labyrinth*, 103-10, 115-22.

Yet anarchism, owing so many of its ideas and characteristics to Christianity, was almost universally atheistic and frequently anticlerical. Circumstances in the nineteenth century tended to separate the masses from the Church, which had been the traditional defender of local liberties and which had led the most significant popular movements—from the expulsion of the Moors and Jews to the resistance against Napoleon. Following the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Spanish thought became increasingly laic, as did that of Europe generally. Besides this, the Church lost much of its fraternal connection with the Spanish countryside when its landed estates were confiscated in the middle of the nineteenth century. Of necessity it turned for support to the rising capitalist middle class. Its economic strength depended increasingly on banking and industrial investments.²⁴ At the same time, the Church neglected the poverty of the masses—and of the village priests. The needs of landless laborers were met by the action of the Civil Guard rather than by Christian charity. "For lack of the Christian social spirit, the masses were lost," wrote the Catholic professor Alfred Mendizabal, analyzing the causes of the Civil War.²⁵ Andalusia was largely anarchist before the end of the nineteenth century. Anarchism (frequently replacing Carlism) became an important force in the Levant, and in portions of Aragon and rural Catalonia, between 1900–30. In the north, where the separation between the Church and the masses did not take place to so significant a degree, Navarre remained Carlist (Catholicism and traditional local liberty being the main ingredients of Carlism) while the Basque Catholics supported local liberties against centralism by siding with the Republic despite the non-Catholic and anti-Catholic nature of the other groups in the Popular Front.

The mixture of anarchism with religious phraseology and superstitious belief may be illustrated by the following verse of July, 1936, invoking the patron virgin of Saragossa:

La virgen del Pilar dice
Que no quiere ser feixista
Es el capitan general
Del partido anarquista.²⁶

Only a rash commentator would claim the ability to distinguish precisely the degree of credulity from the element of blasphemy in this ditty. Some of the people singing it had gathered at Saragossa in May for the annual anarchist congress, at which they had discussed the virtues of Esperanto and had

²⁴ For information on this point, see Ilsa and Arturo Barea, *Spain in the Postwar World* (London, 1945), 14; also A. Ramos Oliveira, *Politics, Economics, and Men of Modern Spain, 1808–1946* (London, 1946), 435–37.

²⁵ Alfred Mendizabal, *Aux origines d'une tragédie* (Paris, 1937), 147–49.

²⁶ Quoted by Langdon-Davies, *Behind the Spanish Barricades*, 45. [The virgin of Pilar declares she is no fascist; she is the captain general of the anarchists.]

debated the ethics of sexual temptation.²⁷ When the Civil War broke out two months later, they fought a losing battle in the streets and suburbs of the city, employing the same reckless and self-sacrificing guerrilla tactics which had amazed the soldiers of Napoleon more than a hundred years earlier.²⁸ And in the hills of Aragon throughout the Civil War their opponents were largely the Carlist Requettes of Navarre, their brothers in ferocity, courage, and attachment to traditional local liberties. But whereas the Carlists were fighting a Catholic crusade, the anarchists were fighting an anticlerical, if not entirely anti-Catholic, crusade.

The force of particularist sentiment goes far towards explaining the anti-Castilian orientation of anarchism in Spain. A map showing the areas of major anarchist penetration would coincide roughly with the outlines of the medieval kingdom of Aragon, minus the upper Pyrenees provinces, plus the greater part of Andalusia.²⁹ There were important anarchist contingents in the northern ports and mining centers, but these groups leaned towards co-operation with the socialists, as did the anarcho-syndicalist leaders Pestaña and Seguí. At the 1919 Congress of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (the national organization of the anarcho-syndicalists), the Oviedons voted to merge the CNT with the socialist Madrid-centered Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), whereas the Catalans and Andalusians voted against fusion;³⁰ one may note also that the October, 1934, uprising in Oviedo was a co-ordinated movement under the joint leadership of left-wing socialists and anarchists. Similarly, it would be reasonable to suppose that the doctrines of Spanish theologians and jurists in regard to property and social organization might influence Spaniards quite as easily in the direction of socialism as of anarchism. Socialism, which envisions the use of state power on behalf of the masses, was in fact the dominant working-class doctrine in the areas of Spain which identified themselves historically with Castile, and hence with central government. Anarchism was the major doctrine in the areas which have traditionally resisted domination by Castile.

In addition, however, the philosophical principles and the millenary fervor of anarchism corresponded far more closely than did socialist ideology to the psychological temper of Spain. Anarchist thought appealed to the deepest instincts of not only the Spanish masses; it received serious consideration by leading Spanish intellectuals also. Joaquín Costa, discussing the history of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

²⁸ In Galdos' novel *Zaragoza*, which relates the epic resistance of the Spanish guerrillas during the siege of the city by Napoleon's armies, the above cited quatrain ran: *La virgen del Pilar dice/que no quiere ser francesa...*

²⁹ See the sketch map in Brennan, *Spanish Labyrinth*, 335, indicating the political affiliations of Spanish workers and peasants in 1933.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, footnote H, 199.

Spanish legal practices, accuses the state of never having recognized what he calls "the right freely to constitute themselves [i.e., the Spanish villagers] in counsels and cantons for purposes of cooperation," a right which has, in fact, long been exercised, and which has created institutions realizing in a considerable measure the libertarian ideal.³¹ Costa emphasized in all his legal writings that in the good society, law and custom must coincide—a point of view which would strongly support the anarchist insistence on local autonomy and on individual consent to all forms of the social contract.

Francisco Giner de los Ríos, professor of law at the University of Madrid and founder of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, was by no means unsympathetic to anarchist criticisms of the existing order. In arguing against "negative" conceptions of the law as coercive and external to the individual, he insists that there can be no true guarantee of the social order outside the conscience of each individual. In the development of his own legal philosophy, Giner owes this idea to the German philosopher Krause, so influential in the Spain of his day; but Giner himself recognized its similarity to anarchist criticism of law.³² In a brief essay concerning anarchism he cites Plato's opinion that laws are unnecessary for the educated man, and dwells upon Fray Luis de León's antithesis between law and grace: the former "imperfect," "not alive"; the latter "flexible, living, individual." Giner parts company with the anarchists in his opposition to all violence and revolution but shares their criticism of coercive government and their faith that all social progress depends on the formation of the inner man by means of education. What we must do, he concludes, is create "*un pueblo adulto*."³³

Francisco Pi y Margall, theorist of "federalism" and one of the presidents of the First Republic, writes that contemporary society is based upon the ruins of individual liberty and that true society can exist only "in virtue of my consent." For him "all power is an absurdity. Each man who places his hand upon another is a tyrant—more than that, his act is sacrilegious."³⁴ Some form of government being a temporary necessity, the sequence of power should be from town to province, and from province to nation by a series of pacts freely consented to by all parties.³⁵

Joaquín Costa was famous in Spain as a historian of law and as a tireless propagandist for the economic revival of the peninsula. Giner's *Institución Libre* was the alma mater of many of the republican and socialist leaders of

³¹ J. Costa, *La ignorancia del derecho* (Buenos Aires, 1945), 135–37. The original, delivered as a lecture in 1901, was published in the same year.

³² Dorado-Montero, *Valor social*, 11, 193–94. For a general account of the Spanish "Krausists," see J. B. Trend, *The Origins of Modern Spain* (Cambridge, 1934).

³³ Francisco Giner de los Ríos, "Aspectos del anarquismo," *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, XXIII (1899), 88–90.

³⁴ Francisco Pi y Margall, *La reacción y la revolución* (Madrid, 1854), 202–08.

³⁵ Pi y Margall, *Las nacionalidades* (3d ed., Madrid, 1882), 295.

the Second Republic. Its curriculum—all due allowance being made for the immense contrast in intellectual caliber and in available facilities—was very similar to the *enseñanza integral* advocated by anarchist leaders. Pi y Margall, ineffectual as an executive, remained nevertheless one of the sentimental idols of the Spanish people. None of these men are to be numbered among the anarchists, but each of them shows sympathies and propensities similar to those of the anarchists. What the Spanish people derived from their experience of collective institutions, from their hatred of arbitrary Castilian government, and from their religious outlook the intellectuals derived from the same historical context, plus their reading of post-Kantian German philosophy, of Proudhon, and later of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Tolstoy.

Thus when the First International sent its representatives to Spain after the Revolution of 1868, and when the pamphlets of Russian, Italian, and German anarchist philosophers were translated and disseminated in southern and eastern Spain, the seed was deposited in fertile soil. Centuries of experience, and the psychological temper resulting therefrom, had prepared the Spanish people to see their own historic ideals embodied in those of anarchism. The movement appealed at once to their conservative instincts and to their utopian hopes. Village government by the *sindicato único* seemed like a restoration of the medieval commune. Co-operative and collective institutions of economic life abounded in their traditions. Emphasis on decentralization and local autonomy appealed to both their resentment of arbitrary Castilian rule and to their moral belief in the fullest individual autonomy. Abolition of money and of large-scale private property corresponded to their image of Utopia, whether in the past, before the Fall of Man, or in the dawning future of *comunismo libertario*. The ascetic manners and the educational efforts of the anarchist leaders appealed to them as had the same qualities in the mendicant friars of old. At the same time, in the non-Castilian portions of the country, the people tended to distrust the Marxist emphasis on the capture and use of the state apparatus. Like peasants the world over, they clung to the rights of small property. The spiritual forebears of Marxism—the materialist thought of the French Enlightenment and the ideas of the English Radicals—were not congenial to a people whose emotional temper remained close to that of primitive Christianity. Such are the factors of the indigenous rural anarchism of Spain which found modern expression in the anarchist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Grand Jury on the Trans-Mississippi

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COURT DAY in the frontier towns of Texas in the days of the Republic brought an air of anticipation and suspense to the entire community. Local residents who had grievances made plans to lay them before the grand jury, persons in jail waited anxiously to see if they would have to stand trial, and the whole town speculated as to the indictments the grand inquest would return. The trials, which inevitably followed a sitting of the grand jury, would provide a free show for all who could squeeze into the crude courthouse, while the verdicts would serve as topics for endless debate in the days to come. Social life in the frontier county seat quickened while the district court was in session. New faces could be seen on the streets and in the saloons of the town. The judge and the very mobile bar which accompanied him from county to county brought with them news and anecdotes of trials in other communities. The presence in town of litigants, witnesses, and prospective jurors added to the opportunity of renewing old friendships and meeting newcomers. In the evenings veteran lawyers regaled their younger colleagues with stories of practice on the frontier. Gamblers and swindlers made good use of the occasion to reap a harvest while a holiday atmosphere pervaded the town. Courts in the early days of the Texas Republic, as in most frontier areas, were extremely informal. The judge and attorneys, as well as the jurors and spectators, chewed tobacco, smoked, or whittled during the sessions.

The first order of business after the judge had convened the court in the log courthouse or in the back room of a saloon was to draw and swear the members of the grand jury. Texans had abandoned the criminal procedure in force under the Spanish and Mexican governments and adopted the common law of England and with it the grand jury system. The clerk of court drew names from a list already prepared by the justice of the peace and the county commissioners. If no one challenged the fitness of any of the men, the judge explained their duties, advised them of any matters he thought they should consider, and sent them out to hear witnesses and deliberate in secret session.¹

¹ William R. Hogan, *The Texas Republic* (Norman, 1946), 245-46; *Laws of the Republic of Texas* (1845), c. 10, § 1.

In many cases this meant going out of doors, for many courthouses were only one-room cabins. The grand inquest heard the evidence against all persons arrested since the last term of court and returned a true bill if it believed the evidence warranted a trial or refused to indict if it did not. In addition, any individual in the community was free to go before the grand jury and present evidence against any other person. Jurors possessed the authority to summon before them all persons who could assist them in their investigations, whether they were private citizens or government officials. These powers put them in an excellent position to supervise the activities of local officers and indict or report to the people those guilty of malfeasance or corruption. At the conclusion of their deliberations the grand jurors handed the judge the indictments they had found and reported to the court on the condition of the county. Frequently these reports set forth community grievances with a request that the judge forward them to state authorities. Early Texas inquests charged more persons with gambling than with any other crime, but many other offenses reflecting frontier violence found their way into grand jury returns, including assault and battery, murder, cattle- and horse-stealing, and illegal sale of liquor. At the end of the court session a celebration was usually in order, at which the jurors marked the successful completion of their duties. Occasionally the members of the bar entertained the jurors, as they did following court in Houston County in 1838 and a few succeeded in getting "gloriously drunk."²

When Texas entered the Union in 1845 the grand inquest was an accepted part of the judicial machinery in each of its counties. As the population grew and the state carved new counties from the old, grand juries played a vital role in law enforcement in the newly settled areas and served as spokesman of the people as well. As befitted the state of development of the area, they often held their sessions in crudely constructed courthouses, private homes, back rooms of saloons or out in the open under the shade of a tree. Between deliberations they passed the time playing poker or telling stories. In 1846, grand jurors attending court in Dallas County held a mock trial in which they fined the prosecuting attorney one gallon of whisky and assessed Judge

² Hogan, *The Texas Republic*, 256, 261; Armistead A. Aldrich, *The History of Houston County [Texas]* (San Antonio, 1943), 30; George A. Crocket, *Two Centuries in East Texas* (Dallas, 1932), 255-60; Alexander W. Neville, *The History of Lamar County [Texas]* (Paris, Texas, 1937), 32-33; *Burch v. The Republic*, 1 Texas 608 (1846), and *Bush v. The Republic*, 1 Texas 455 (1846), indictments for illegal sale of liquor; *Bailey v. State*, 2 Texas 202 (1847), and *Cannon v. State*, 3 Texas 31 (1848), indictments for gambling; *Cotton v. State*, 4 Texas 260 (1849), and *Clipper v. State*, 4 Texas 243 (1849), indictments for assault with a deadly weapon; *Linney v. State*, 6 Texas 1 (1851), and *Herber v. State*, 7 Texas 69 (1851), indictments for cattle-stealing.

William B. Ochiltree two gallons of whisky for failing to obey a summons to attend their party.³

In creating territories in the West after the year 1836, Congress followed the pattern set in organizing the territory of Wisconsin. Enabling acts vested judicial power in district courts and a supreme court, presided over by judges appointed by the President. There were no separate federal courts, but the district courts gave over the first days of each session to the trial of cases arising under federal laws and the federal Constitution. Following this, they took the remainder of the session to try cases arising under laws of the territory. In some territories the same grand jury passed upon persons arrested for violation of federal or territorial laws, while in others the court impaneled separate indicting bodies. None of the territorial acts passed before 1864 provided the qualifications or method of selecting grand jurors. Congress left both questions to be decided by the territorial legislatures.⁴ Qualifications imposed by the territorial legislatures were not high. There were no property requirements. In most cases, being a qualified elector in the county was sufficient. In Colorado "known professional gamblers" could not serve, while in New Mexico the law barred aliens. In most territories sheriffs selected grand jurors from a list prepared by county commissioners. Penalties for failure to answer a summons for jury duty varied from a fine of five dollars in New Mexico to one of twenty-five in Arizona. All territories except Oregon permitted persons to challenge the entire panel on the grounds of improper drawing or to challenge individual jurors because they were not qualified to serve. Territorial legislatures frequently imposed specific duties upon grand juries in addition to their broad task of investigating all public offenses. They directed inquests to visit, and report upon conditions in, jails within the county. In Arizona and New Mexico the legislature charged inquests to investigate all "wilful and corrupt misconduct" of public officials.⁵

As they had on earlier frontiers, territorial grand juries often resorted to

³ Ikie G. Patteson, *Loose Leaves, A History of Delta County [Texas]* (Dallas, 1935), 21; G. H. Baird, *A Brief History of Upshur County [Texas]* (Gilmer, Texas, 1946), 13; Neville, *History of Lamar County*, 41; John W. Rogers, *The Lusty Texans of Dallas* (New York, 1951), 67; *History of Ellis County, Texas* (Chicago, 1892), 135-36.

⁴ *Statutes at Large of the United States*, V, 10 (1836), Wisconsin Territory; V, 235 (1838), Iowa Territory; IX, 323 (1848), Oregon Territory; IX, 403 (1848), Minnesota Territory; IX, 446 (1850), New Mexico Territory; IX, 453 (1850), Utah Territory; X, 277 (1854), Kansas and Nebraska territories; X, 172 (1853), Washington Territory; XII, 172 (1861), Colorado Territory; XII, 209 (1861), Nevada Territory; XII, 239 (1862), Dakota Territory; XII, 664 (1863), Arizona Territory; XII, 808 (1863), Idaho Territory; XIII, 85 (1864), Montana Territory.

⁵ *Statutes of New Mexico Territory* (1865), c. 69, §§ 4, 5, 8, 9; c. 70, §§ 1, 10; *Statutes of New Mexico* (1855), c. 30, §§ 1, 3, 10; *Statutes of Colorado* (1867), c. 49, § 1; *Laws of Oregon* (1843-72), c. 5, §§ 31, 35; *Statutes of Minnesota* (1866), c. 107, §§ 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.

makeshifts in the face of primitive accommodations. In Eugene, Oregon Territory, the first term of court convened under an oak tree. At the first session of court in the Territory of Washington, spectators knocked out the end of the building in order to witness the proceedings. After receiving the judge's charge, the grand jury adjourned to a fish shanty, where, surrounded by hogsheads of salt salmon and fish nets, they heard testimony and deliberated. Secrecy proved impossible when outsiders crawled under the building or listened through cracks in the walls.⁶ At almost every session, frontier juries returned bills for illegal gambling, selling liquor on Sunday, selling liquor to Indians, and cattle- and horse-stealing. In 1855 the inquest sitting at Yamhill County, Oregon Territory, indicted a large number of persons for vigilante activity. They had taken the law into their own hands and administered a whipping to a recalcitrant member of the community.⁷ The first grand jury to attend a court in the Territory of New Mexico returned bills of indictment against seven persons for murder, two for treason, five for stealing, and three for receiving stolen goods. Subsequent juries in New Mexico often required the services of an interpreter because so few members could understand English.⁸ Some inquests took into consideration the unsettled nature of conditions on the frontier and did not seek rigid enforcement of all laws. In 1856, Judge William L. Welch told jurors attending territorial court at Preston, Minnesota, that in a new country where there were few jails and quarrels grew easily out of land claims, they were not expected to deal severely with offenders. The grand jurors followed the judge's broad hint and declined to indict two men accused of first degree murder.⁹ But not all inquests were reluctant to bring persons to trial. At the first session of the district court in Johnson County, Texas, the jurors sat only two days but indicted three persons for murder, two for adultery, six for assault and battery, two for gambling, and two for perjury.¹⁰

Territorial leaders in Western areas recognized the importance of grand juries. When David Logan submitted a resolution to the Oregon Constitu-

⁶ Charles H. Carey, *A General History of Oregon* (Portland, 1936), II, 485.

⁷ *United States v. Tom*, 1 Oregon 26 (1853), and *Fowler v. United States*, 1 Washington Territory 3 (1854), and *Palmer v. United States*, 1 Washington Territory 5 (1854), indictments for selling liquor to Indians; *Wood v. Territory*, 1 Oregon 223 (1846), and *State v. Sweet*, 2 Oregon 125 (1865), illegal sale of liquor; *Newby v. State*, 1 Oregon 163 (1855), indictment for vigilance activity; *State v. Johnson*, 2 Oregon 115 (1864), indictment for horse-stealing.

⁸ Francis T. Cheetham, "The First Term of the American Court in Taos, New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* (January, 1926), I, 28; Edward D. Tittmann, "The Last Legal Frontier," *New Mexico Historical Review* (July, 1927), II, 221.

⁹ Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Fillmore County, Minnesota* (Chicago, 1912), I, 529.

¹⁰ *A Memorial and Biographical History of Johnson and Hill Counties, Texas* (Chicago, 1892), 94.

tional Convention in August, 1857, providing for the abolition of the grand jury, the institution did not lack defenders who were quick to point out its value in a frontier community. Territorial Chief Justice George H. Williams noted that a secret method of entering complaints against criminals was necessary in view of the likelihood of retribution against complainants if the fact became known. Williams reminded the convention that judges and prosecuting attorneys were far more likely to be influenced "by fear or favor" than twenty-three members of the community. Justice Matthew P. Deady opposed the innovation on the ground that a fearless grand inquest was often the only shield between desperadoes, corrupt officials, and the people; Judge Ruben P. Boise expressed doubt that any other system could provide as efficient and vigilant a system of law enforcement.¹¹

Occasionally, grand jurors were subject to threats by the friends of persons they had indicted. In Boise City, Idaho, the notorious gang leader, David Opdyke, succeeded in being elected sheriff in 1865. When the local grand jury indicted him for embezzlement, he resigned but swore revenge upon the members of the panel. The Opdyke gang warned several jurors that they would not live to walk the streets of Boise City.¹² Men who served on frontier juries, however, were not unprepared for such eventualities. They frequently came to court sessions well armed with guns and pistols. Chief Justice William F. Turner told grand jurors in Arizona Territory that he addressed them with some hesitation after he had seen how well armed they were. They looked more like an armed vigilance committee than a grand inquest.¹³ In many instances the sanction of the law was the difference between a Western grand jury and a well-run vigilance committee. Both had the common objective of removing corrupt officials and driving lawless elements from the community. In Montana a territorial inquest reported to the court that it would be better to leave punishment of all offenders to the vigilantes, who always acted impartially and who would not allow criminals to escape on absurdly technical grounds.¹⁴ The vigilance committee came to be a regular institution on early frontiers, led in many cases by ministers, doctors, and other respected members of the community. In Virginia City, Idaho Territory, a committee of armed citizens hanged a man who had often threatened to shoot persons on the street. In the town of Gilroy, California, local residents formed a committee to drive "thieves and vagrants" from the town. They elected a captain and two lieutenants and proceeded to call at all

¹¹ Charles H. Carey, *The Oregon Constitution and Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857* (Salem, Oregon, 1926), 197, 212-15.

¹² Nathaniel P. Langford, *Vigilante Days and Ways* (Boston, 1890), II, 348.

¹³ Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, 1916), III, 846-47.

¹⁴ Thomas J. Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana* (Helena, 1915), 15.

saloons and dance halls and warn the patrons to leave the city. Finally they escorted nine men well beyond the city limit.¹⁵

Grand juries did not confine their activities to indicting criminals and outlaws. The condition of jails and public buildings, as well as the state and county finances, received their frequent attention. Public officials who were not performing their duties properly heard from the jurors. In 1860 the grand inquest of Fremont County, Iowa, called the attention of the community to extravagance, "and in some cases something worse," in connection with expenses of the county court. They reported that the county judge had not accounted for all fees paid to him. Jurors in Gage County, Nebraska, indicted the county treasurer for embezzlement of \$547, while in Ormsby County, Nevada, the grand inquest told the court that Robert Logan had failed to account for \$1,918 received while he was county tax-collector. At Deer Lodge County, Montana, the grand jury denounced a justice of the peace for demanding fees not allowed him by law.¹⁶

With the exception of Utah, grand juries that attended federal and territorial courts in the West remained under the control of the local residents. In most territories the county commissioners compiled a list of all persons qualified for grand jury duty. With few exceptions, they were free to include any person who was qualified to vote. In Arizona, where there was a Mormon colony, the territory followed the lead of the federal government and prohibited persons who practiced or condoned polygamy from serving on grand juries that might pass upon such offenses. In some territories, the sheriff, and in others the clerk of court, drew the names of persons summoned for jury duty.¹⁷ Among the Western states, Oregon was the first to provide in its constitution of 1857 that the legislature could abolish or limit the grand jury. However, the legislature did not exercise its prerogative until 1899.¹⁸ Nebraska and Colorado included similar provisions in their constitutions and in both states the legislature abolished the grand inquest except when summoned by a judge.¹⁹ The California constitution, drafted in 1879, provided that crimes be tried upon an information of a district attorney but also di-

¹⁵ Frank H. Bushick, *Glamorous Days* (San Antonio, 1934), 244; *New York Times*, May 2, 1864; San Francisco *Bulletin*, November 9, 1873.

¹⁶ *Rector v. Smith*, 11 Iowa 302 (1860); Hugh J. Dobbs, *History of Gage County, Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1918), 323; *State v. Logan*, 1 Nevada 510 (1865); *Territory v. McElroy*, 1 Montana 86 (1868).

¹⁷ *Laws of the Territory of Idaho* (1873), 5-6; *Code of the Territory of Washington* (1881), c. 152, §§ 2078, 2080, 2082; *Laws of Arizona Territory* (1885), 340; *Compiled Laws of Wyoming* (1876), c. 37, §§ 778-80; c. 7, §§ 117-60.

¹⁸ Francis N. Thorpe (ed.), *Federal and State Constitutions* (Washington, D.C., 1909), V, 2998, Oregon constitution of 1857, Art. VII, § 18; *Laws of Oregon* (1899), 99-100, §§ 1, 7.

¹⁹ Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, I, 476, Colorado constitution of 1876, Art. II, §§ 8, 23; *Laws of Colorado* (1883), 160-61.

rected that at least one grand jury a year should sit in each county.²⁰ Arizona followed the lead of the Western states and in 1895 became the only territory to discontinue the use of grand juries.²¹

Judges of early Western courts were men of widely varying character. They included persons such as Judge Roy Bean, rough and uneducated, who upheld the law almost singlehanded, or "Hanging Judge" Parker, who made his name the scourge of the Indian Territory. Political appointees from the East generally presided over territorial and federal courts. In many instances they were unfit, rapacious individuals less interested in the welfare of the territory than in recouping their private fortunes. Local residents were not pleased to welcome such jurists and they made little attempt to hide their resentment. In 1870 the *Owyhee Avalanche* of Silver City, Idaho Territory, protested indignantly against judges "which the powers that be, commonly select from among the political fungi of the states east of us." Frontier jurists seldom neglected, on the occasion of charging the grand jury, to give a rousing stump speech. Reports of the opening of court at Yankton, Dakota Territory, praised the two-hour charge delivered by the chief justice as "elaborate, able and eloquent." Where there were large Mormon colonies, judges seemingly never tired of dwelling on the horrors of polygamy and asking punishment of all those who would "substitute the harem for the slave pen." At Fort Smith, Arkansas, where he sought to bring law and order to the Indian Territory, Judge Isaac C. Parker dismissed grand jurors who opposed capital punishment and warned those who remained against "the tricks and artifices of the guilty." He was ever alert to admonish juries against "sickly sentimentality in favor of crime."²²

Composed as they were of representative persons from the community, grand juries that attended Western courts differed little from those that sat at courts throughout the nation. Only in the territories of Wyoming and Washington did women take their places in the grand jury box along with the men. Dakotians chided residents of Wyoming on their innovation and told of the results of one such jury that had deliberated five days and nights. It returned no indictments, but there were alleged to have been five elope-

²⁰ Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, I, 413, California constitution of 1879, Art. I, § 8; *Statutes of California* (1881), 71, § 9.

²¹ *Laws of Arizona* (1885), 202.

²² Willie A. Chalfant, *Tales of the Pioneers* (Stanford University Press, 1942), 17; Fred H. Harrington, *Hanging Judge* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1951), 59; *Owyhee Avalanche*, September 3, 1870; S. W. Harman, *Hell on the Border* (Fort Smith, Arkansas, 1898), 466, 487, 491-92; *Daily Press and Dakotian* (Yankton, Dakota Territory), November 16, 1877.

ments. In Tacoma, Washington, an inquest that included five married women embarked on a campaign to wipe prostitution from the city.²³

Silver City, Idaho (now a ghost town), was typical of the mining towns where the grand jury took an important role in local affairs. Set high in the Owyhee Mountains of southwestern Idaho, it blossomed into a city of five thousand almost overnight following the discovery of silver in 1863. The area proved fabulously rich, second only to the Comstock lode. Three years later, Silver City became the county seat of Owyhee County and boasted a hotel and daily newspaper. Makeshift houses and shanties filled the valley and made their way up the mountainside.²⁴ All residents qualified to vote were eligible to serve on the grand jury. The county commissioners selected thirty persons from the voting list and the clerk of court drew seventeen names from a box. The pay was only three dollars per day plus fifteen cents per mile of travel, but a fine of up to fifty dollars for failure to attend provided additional incentive.²⁵ The problem of "bogus gold dust" took the attention of the first grand jury to meet in Silver City. The editor of the *Owyhee Avalanche* expressed amazement that they could get seventeen men of whom some were not engaged in its manufacture. A presentment protested against gold dust made from lead, but the jurors returned no indictments. In neighboring Ada County, the inquest charged several persons with trying to pass gold of their own making.²⁶

As in most territories, grand jurors in Idaho were under obligation to inspect the local jail. Judge Alexander Smith told Silver City jurors of their duty but added: "I have been prospecting these parts for several days and haven't found any such shebang! You may find one, however, so look around." In October, 1867, the inquest reported that the local jail was totally inadequate, with both locks and hinges of inferior quality. In the following year they recommended that the jail and all county buildings be weather-boarded, asked the legislature to amend the revenue laws so as to provide a cash fund for payment of contingents, and called for an investigation of rates charged on toll roads. Indictments included one against a county officer for malfeasance as well as others for murder, grand larceny for stealing ore, attempting to bribe a jury, and illegal gambling.²⁷

Grand juries deliberating in the booming mining camp of Silver City

²³ *Daily Press and Dakotian*, October 9, 1875; *Rosecrantz v. Territory*, 2 Washington Territorial Reports 267 (1884).

²⁴ *Idaho, A Guide in Word and Picture*, WPA Writer's Project (Caldwell, Idaho, 1937), 381-84; Cornelius Brosnan, *History of the State of Idaho* (New York, 1948), 146-48.

²⁵ *Laws of the Territory of Idaho* (1873), 5-7, §§ 1, 3, 7, 28.

²⁶ *Owyhee Avalanche*, November 3, 1866; *People v. Page*, 1 Idaho 102 (1867).

²⁷ Thomas Donaldson, *Idaho of Yesterday* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1941), 195; *Owyhee Avalanche*, October 19, 1867; October 10, 1868; March 12, July 16, 1870; *Owyhee Tidal Wave*, November 25, 1869; *People v. Freeman*, 1 Idaho 322 (1870).

played an important role in local law enforcement, constantly suggested means of improving their city, and kept a close watch over public officials.²⁸ In performing these duties, they were not acting out of the ordinary, but were doing just as inquests did in most counties throughout the West. The local problems and types of crimes might vary from place to place, with cattle-stealing or timber thefts taking the place of counterfeiting gold dust and claim-jumping. However, the basic functions of the grand jury remained the same. Some inquests were more conscientious than others and earned a local reputation for the number of indictments they returned for serious crimes. In 1883 an Arizona jury brought in forty "true bills," one-third of them for murder. Jurors meeting in Crosby County, Texas, in March, 1888, won the title, "the bloody grand jury" for the number of persons they charged with murder.²⁹ Indictments for murder and assault with a deadly weapon abounded throughout the West, but they were not the only crimes serious enough to warrant the death penalty. People often regarded horse- and cattle-stealing, claim-jumping, or theft of gold or silver ore as sufficiently serious to warrant hanging, if not always at the hands of the law, then under the direction of a vigilance committee.³⁰ In regions where grazing was important, hardly a grand jury met that did not indict for cattle-stealing. Persons sitting on grand juries were frequently members of vigilance associations formed to deal with cattle thieves. In Colorado the supreme court held that such persons were free to serve on inquests.³¹ Illegal gambling, selling liquor to Indians, and selling liquor without a license brought frequent grand jury action throughout the West.³²

In some states and territories laws specifically instructed inquests to in-

²⁸ *Owyhee Avalanche*, April 29, November 18, 1871; May 24, 1873; June 6, 1874; May 12, 1877; June 5, 1880; June 4, 1881; May 20, 1882; May 24, 1884.

²⁹ Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona* (New York, 1932), 278; Nellie W. Spikes and Temple A. Ellis, *Through the Years, A History of Crosby County, Texas* (San Antonio, 1952), 215.

³⁰ *Territory v. Perkins*, 2 Montana 469 (1876), indictment for assault to commit murder; *Territory v. Stears*, 2 Montana 325 (1875), indictment for murder; *Territory v. Perea*, 1 New Mexico 625 (1879), indictment for murder by shooting.

³¹ *Boyle v. People*, 4 Colorado 176 (1878), grand jurors as members of a vigilance association; *Christ v. People*, 3 Colorado 394 (1877), larceny of cattle; *State v. Brown*, 8 Nevada 208 (1873), indictment for driving cattle away; *State v. Newman*, 9 Nevada 48 (1873), cattle-rustling; *Territory v. Big Knot on Head*, 6 Montana 242 (1878); *Scales v. State*, 5 Texas Court of Appeals 526 (1879); *People v. Garns*, 2 Utah 260 (1878), indictments for cattle theft.

³² *Territory v. Mackey*, 8 Montana 168 (1888), and *United States v. Reigeling*, 8 Montana 353 (1888), indictments for claim-jumping; *Territory v. Copely*, 1 New Mexico 571 (1873), indictment for keeping a gambling table known as "monte"; *People v. Goldman*, 1 Idaho 714 (1878), indictment for keeping a gambling house; *United States v. Sacramento*, 2 Montana 240 (1875); *United States v. Smith*, 2 Montana 487 (1876), indictments for sale of liquor to Indians.

investigate all official misconduct within their county.³³ But even in those jurisdictions where there was no specific statute, they did not hesitate to denounce and indict officials guilty of malfeasance or corruption. Nor were federal appointees immune from grand jury censure. The grand inquest attending court at Tucson, Arizona Territory, in November, 1871, bitterly denounced army officers in their region who traded with the Indians, giving arms and ammunition in return for game. Such deals, they protested, "sentenced white men to death at the murdering hand of the Apache." The jurors demanded that the Army stop allowing Indians to use army camps as rest- and supply-bases for their raids on the surrounding countryside. They called public attention to widespread corruption among ration officers, who profited by selling food designated for distribution to the Indians. The jurors also accused army officers of giving liquor to the Indians and using Indian women for purposes of prostitution.³⁴

In March, 1872, the United States grand jury at Brownsville, Texas, declared that "a reign of terror" existed in the area between the Nueces and Rio Grande rivers. It protested that marauding bands from Mexico crossed the border at will, stealing cattle and plundering. The jurors blamed the situation on the lack of an adequate calvary force to protect the Rio Grande Valley and remonstrated against officials in Washington who had ignored repeated requests for assistance. They called upon Texas representatives in Congress to attend to the problem or the people of the area would have to "meet the invaders and despoilers as freemen should, with ball and blade."³⁵

In September, 1873, the grand jury of Deer Lodge County, Montana Territory, investigated the dealings of the United States Indian agent and uncovered a ring of persons who bought and sold goods sent for distribution to the Indians. The inquest at Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, indicted the federal Indian agent stationed there for stealing twenty thousand pounds of sugar.³⁶

County officials were also subject to scrutiny by the probing eye of the grand jury. In Wasco County, Oregon, jurors charged the county judge and the county clerk with receiving illegal fees. The inquest of Kimble County, Texas, sought to oust the local judge and sheriff because they failed to enforce the laws. An inquiry in Custer County, Montana Territory, resulted in charges against three officials for contriving to defraud the county. A similar investigation in Richland County, Dakota Territory, turned up cor-

³³ *Penal Code of California* (1872), § 923; *Statutes of Montana* (1881), 308, § 149.

³⁴ *San Francisco Bulletin*, November 10, 1871; *New York Times*, November 11, 1871.

³⁵ *H. R. Reports No. 98*, 42d Cong., 3rd sess. (1872-73), "Investigation of Indian Frauds," Serial 1578, 235-36.

³⁶ *United States v. Ensign*, 2 Montana 86 (1876); *United States v. Upham*, 2 Montana 113 (1874); *McCann v. United States*, 2 Wyoming 274 (1880).

ruption on the part of a county commissioner. In Phoenix, Arizona Territory, a grand jury took the initiative in uncovering graft among county officials. They not only uncovered corruption, but awakened the community to the need of a thorough housecleaning.³⁷

The year 1889 saw six territories come into the Union as states and the virtual disappearance of the grand jury from large areas of the West. Washington, Idaho, and Montana eliminated the institution except when summoned by a judge. The North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming constitutions each gave the state legislature authority to abolish the system entirely. The grand jury, however, did not lack supporters in the 1889 constitutional conventions. There were many men who thought a single prosecuting officer a poor substitute for a body composed of representative citizens of the community. Some saw in the inquest a means of protecting the interests of the citizens against the government and expressed the fear that abolition of the system was a step in the direction of centralization. Other delegates warned that district attorneys would be far more subject to political pressure than a panel of citizens. The cry of economy won the day, however, and grand juries ceased to sit in the new states.³⁸ Within a few years the legislatures of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming exercised their authority to abolish grand inquests in their states.³⁹

The frontier continued to recede in the West and with it the use of the grand jury, but when settlers streamed into Oklahoma in 1889 the institution became an integral part of local government, as it had on earlier frontiers.⁴⁰ Grand juries returned indictments for the usual crimes of violence but also flooded the courts with charges of perjury and fraud in connection with land entries.⁴¹ In October, 1893, the inquest sitting at Guthrie, Oklahoma, launched a thorough investigation of the federal land-office. After

³⁷ *State v. Packard*, 4 Oregon 157 (1871); *State v. Perham*, 4 Oregon 188 (1871); Ovie C. Fisher, *It Occurred in Kimble* (Houston, 1937), 212; *Territory v. Garland*, 6 Montana 14 (1886); *State v. Bauer*, 1 North Dakota 273 (1890); *Phoenix Weekly Herald* (Arizona Territory), April 9, 1896.

³⁸ Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, VII, 3975, Washington constitution of 1889, Art. I, §§ 25, 26; I. W. Hart (ed.), *Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1912), 260-70, 2050; *Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Montana in 1889* (Helena, 1921), 100-105, 112-14; *Proceedings and Debates of the First Constitutional Convention of North Dakota* (Bismarck, 1889), 364-65; *South Dakota Constitutional Debates* (Huron, South Dakota, 1907), II, 11, 131; *Journal and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Wyoming in 1889* (Cheyenne, 1893), 716, 726.

³⁹ *Laws of North Dakota* (1890), c. 71, §§ 1, 9; *Laws of Wyoming* (1890-91), c. 59, §§ 1, 14; *Laws of South Dakota* (1895), c. 64, §§ 1, 9.

⁴⁰ *Statutes of Oklahoma* (1890), c. 72, pp. 977-80.

⁴¹ *Fisher v. United States*, 1 Oklahoma 252 (1892); *Stanleg v. United States*, 1 Oklahoma 337 (1893); *Rich v. United States*, 1 Oklahoma 354 (1893); *Finch v. United States*, 1 Oklahoma 396 (1893).

a look into the matter, they reported that there was evidence to substantiate "the most radical charges of fraud." Bribed land-office officials had sold certificates and connived with persons to make "back door" filings in order to defeat those standing in long lines. In Perry County, grand jurors found that a company of soldiers had kept people off certain blocks in the proposed city until "certain politicians" arrived and took possession. The jurors revealed that Harry Bacon, Oklahoma City Democratic leader, had conspired with government officials before the territory was opened to locate county seats for their own benefit. After investigating for over a month, the jurors indicted those persons who were within their jurisdiction and called for a Congressional inquiry into land offices in Oklahoma.⁴²

By the time the frontier ceased to exist beyond the Mississippi, grand juries attended state courts in only a few areas of the West.⁴³ Federal inquests continued to meet, but they did not concern themselves with the local problems which were important to each locality. Before their abolition, county grand juries had served well the communities in which they met. At a time when territorial residents had little voice in their government, juries proclaimed boldly the needs and desires of their areas. They kept public officials under constant scrutiny and made excellent use of their ample powers to initiate investigations of corruption in government. The passing of the grand jury in the West, under the guise of bringing efficiency and economy to local government, left a void which a public prosecutor could never fill. In criminal matters, a body of representative citizens could undertake many prosecutions which a district attorney would shun as politically too risky. Grand juries were not in the position of having to secure indictments in order to maintain their position. In forfeiting their grand juries, Westerners gave up an important means by which they could participate in, and influence, their government.

⁴² Milwaukee *Evening Wisconsin*, October 28, November 21, 22, 1893.

⁴³ Except in Texas, California, New Mexico Territory, and Oklahoma Territory, grand juries did not sit regularly in the trans-Mississippi West after 1890.

The Labor Movement in San Antonio, Texas, 1865-1915

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THERE IS NO RECORD of any combination of workers in San Antonio prior to 1865. In that year the San Antonio Laborers' Association was formed. By the early 1880's, under the name of *Arbeiter Verein*, it claimed 175 active members.¹ Little is known about the activities of the association, but evidently it was a loosely knit society that confined its efforts to noneconomic spheres.

Ten years after the formation of the Laborers' Association, the first trade-union—Local 172 of the Typographical Union—was organized in the city. It was also the first union in San Antonio to be chartered by a national body.² Membership was small, varying from 15 to 50 during its first twenty-five years of life, but the local has had a continuous existence ever since its modest beginning.³

The firemen employed by the Southern Pacific Railroad were the next to sprout union buttons; out of deference to a legendary fighter for Texas liberty they included the name of Davy Crockett in their lodge designation and prepared to do battle on the economic front.⁴ Soon after, the engineers and the brakemen, later called "trainmen," completed the organization of operating personnel at Southern Pacific's San Antonio headquarters.⁵

Meanwhile, other skilled craftsmen were beginning to stir. Early in 1882 representatives of seven trades met in an effort to perfect grievance-machinery for the disposal of employee complaints. Out of their discussions the omnibus San Antonio Mechanics' and Workingmen's Union developed.

¹ City Directory of San Antonio, 1879-80, p. 77; *ibid.*, 1883-84, p. 84

² *Ibid.*, 1885-86, p. 56.

³ According to the files of Local 172.

⁴ The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized nationally in 1873; Davy Crockett Lodge No. 145 was chartered in 1881. The latter changed its name recently to the Fred Barr Lodge—in memory of a long-time leader of the local. Information about Lodge No. 145 was supplied by its president, W. W. Baker.

⁵ City Directory, 1887-88, pp. 55-57. H. D. Carmichael, chief engineer, Division 197, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and George A. Davis, president, C. Spangler Lodge No. 52, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, were helpful in furnishing information about their respective organizations.

Printers, carpenters, tanners, painters, reporters, collectors, and shoemakers were numbered among the 40 members.⁶ Apparently the union served primarily as a clearing house for complaints. That no encroachment upon the prerogatives of ownership was contemplated is evident in the preamble of the union's constitution:

We, the workingmen of San Antonio, Texas, believing that the rights of labor should be respected, that all men have equal rights, and that it is only by unity of action such rights can be maintained, hereby form ourselves into an union with the intent of doing justice to ourselves without depriving the capitalist or employer of his legitimate rights.⁷

And certainly the amassing of a strike-fund could not have been anticipated from the monthly dues of twenty-five cents.

In the forefront of all labor organizations in San Antonio—as elsewhere during the 1880's—was the Knights of Labor. At the peak of its power the Knights boasted of six assemblies in the city, including one for Negroes.⁸ The Knights was the principal association not only of workers but of citizens in general. According to the local Republican press:

The Knights of Labor is by far the largest and most important organization in this city. . . . These men are sober, industrious, peaceful, law-abiding citizens. . . . They have placed before the public a declaration of principles second to none yet issued by any body of political and social reformers. . . . They ask that the just fruits of their toil and the honest returns of the labor they perform be guaranteed them by the state, and that the wealth they create, as well as the lands owned by the people, be preserved to them and the people by such legislation as is necessary to accomplish that end. The presence of such men in San Antonio will do much to disabuse the minds of many of the false impressions created by the interest of their enemies. The *Light* recognizes the loftiness of their aims and the necessity of many of the reforms advocated by them, and . . . wishes them every success in their honorable endeavor—"to blot the era of oppression out and bring a universal freedom in."⁹

One of the highlights of its existence was the meeting in San Antonio in 1886 of District Assembly No. 78. The conclave concluded with a parade and ball; Negro members marched along with whites, spoke on the same program, and ate the same food. Two thousand people assembled at San Pedro Springs in violation of the mores and customs of the community. "It was perhaps the most unique gathering ever seen in the city, white ladies

⁶ San Antonio *Evening Light*, January 17, 1882, and February 21, 1882.

⁷ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1882.

⁸ City Directory, 1887-88, p. 48. The Negro unit was known as the Alamo Assembly, the others as Crockett, Painters, Travis, Vorwaertz, and Vulcan.

⁹ San Antonio *Light*, July 22 and 23, 1886.

and gentlemen sitting at the same table and eating with their colored and Mexican brethren."¹⁰

The primacy of the Knights of Labor was short-lived. After the failure of the great Southwest strike in 1886,¹¹ the workers of San Antonio followed the national formula of rejecting reformism and "uplift" unionism. Within five years the Knights were a nonentity in the city, as was the loosely knit, catch-all Mechanics' and Workingmen's Union. Skilled artisans turned to the economic front in an attempt to control their jobs; they left social reform to the intellectuals. Painters, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, tanners, and blacksmiths all formed separate craft unions, as had the printers and railroaders during the two preceding decades.¹²

Notwithstanding the trend toward unionization along craft lines, local union leaders still felt the need for co-ordination in matters which affected all of the trades. Representatives of the typographical, trainmen's and carpenters' union took the initiative in establishing the San Antonio Trades Council—the first such central body in the state.¹³ The council ostensibly confined its activities to questions of mutual interest; participation in political contests was prohibited by its charter. Nevertheless, on at least one occasion this inhibition was circumvented by formally adjourning the meeting of the Trades Council and reconvening the delegates present as individuals.¹⁴

By 1900 the Trades Council was a going concern of considerable strength. Forty unions existed in the city, thirty-six of them affiliated with the Council; four railroad locals remained unattached.

As Table 1 shows, very little craft organization was carried on in the city for twenty years after the typographical union set the precedent in 1875. The railroad brotherhoods, painters, and carpenters followed rather quickly, but prior to 1895 only fifteen unions functioned in San Antonio. Within five years, however, twenty-five additional trade-unions were formed. In

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1886.

¹¹ See Ruth A. Allen, *The Great Southwest Strike* (Austin, University of Texas, 1942), for a detailed story of the strike.

¹² City Directory, 1892-93, pp. 61-63. A local of Eugene V. Debs's American Railway Union put in a brief appearance in San Antonio in 1894, the year of that union's bitter strike against the Pullman Company. By 1901 the local had disbanded.

¹³ The first steps toward organization were taken in 1886, but formal existence did not begin until 1891. See *San Antonio Light*, September 13 and 20, 1886; also City Directory, 1892-93, pp. 61-63.

¹⁴ *San Antonio Daily Express*, October 6, 1898. Fifty years later, the American Federation of Labor and its League for Political Education utilized a similar technique to circumvent the restrictions on political activity of labor organizations imposed by the Taft-Hartley Act. At its annual convention the Federation adjourned and reconvened the same delegates as representatives of the league.

no other equal span of years in her history has the city witnessed a like growth of workers' associations.

Under the cohesive guidance of the Trades Council, unity prevailed among the trade-unionists. The hours of labor among bakers, barbers, and retail clerks were reduced with little overt opposition. Nonunion print shops were almost obliterated from the San Antonio scene.¹⁵

The San Antonio Street Railway Company presented more of a challenge. Representatives of Local Division No. 100 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees proposed a union-shop contract calling for grievance-machinery, seniority provisions, and reduction in hours from twelve to nine per day without a pay decrease. The company claimed that it could not afford the reduction in hours but refused to sign even without that proviso. Twenty-five union members, reinforced by 60 non-members, walked out.

Support of the strikers was city-wide, not only among workers but among business and political leaders as well. The County Commissioners passed a resolution of sympathy with the strikers; the City Council unanimously enacted an ordinance prescribing nine hours as a day's labor for operatives of electric street railways; the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association passed a resolution of sympathy with the strikers. And when the company attempted to operate, 500 jeering citizens congregated at Houston and Soledad streets and persuaded the strikebreakers to leave their cars.

Three days after the strike began, Local No. 60 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers joined the struggle. Forty union men left their posts at the street railway company, the gas company, and the Mutual Electric Light Company. One solitary nonunion lineman remained at work as the electricians pressed their demands for \$3-pay for a nine-hour day in lieu of the prevailing \$2.50 for ten hours' work.

Within another three days both disputes were settled to the satisfaction of the workers. The electricians were granted all that they asked for. The carmen got almost everything they wanted: recognition, the nine-hour day, elimination of split shifts, straight time for overtime before midnight and time and a half after midnight. But the company refused to grant a union shop.¹⁶

The following year the linemen established a union scale of \$3 for an eight-hour day, time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays. The telephone operators decided to seek an eight-hour day also, as well as a step-up in progression schedules so that they could reach the maximum level of \$30 a month after one year of service. The electric

¹⁵ *San Antonio Express*, August 31, 1900.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, October 9-15, 1899.

TABLE 1

Unions in San Antonio, 1900

<i>Affiliated with Trades Council</i>	<i>Date First Organized*</i>	<i>Date Affiliated with International</i>
Bakers	1897	1897
Barbers	1894	1900
Bartenders	1893	1900
Beer Bottlers	1897	1897
Beer Drivers and Stablemen	1897	1897
Blacksmiths	1900	1900
Blacksmiths' Helpers	1900†
Brewery Workers	1897	1897
Butchers and Meat Cutters	1899	1900
Carpenters	1892	1892
Carpenters (German)	1885	1888
Cigar Makers	1894	1894
Cooks and Waiters	1900	1900
Coopers	1898	1898
Electrical Workers	1894	1894
Hack Drivers	1900†
Iron Moulders	1900†
Laborers	1900†
Laundry Workers	1899	1899
Leather Workers	1898	1898
Locomotive Firemen	1881	1881
Machinists	1898	1898
Millworkers	1899†
Musicians	1898	1898
Painters	1885	1890
Plumbers	1897	1897
Railway Carmen	1900†
Railway Conductors	1893	1893
Railway Trainmen	1888	1888
Retail Clerks	1900†
Stage Employees	1900†
Street Railway Employees	1894	1894
Tailors	1894	1894
Team Drivers	1900†
Typographical	1875	1875
Weiss Beer, Porter, and Soda-Water Makers	1900†

* Unless specific date of organization was known from other sources, the year in which a union was first listed in the City Directory was accepted as the year of organization. Some of the unions listed were not mentioned in the City Directory prior to 1900 but appeared in newspaper stories of that year. In such cases the year 1900 was presumed to be the date of organization. Some crafts, notably the tanners and bricklayers, were organized prior to 1900, but there is no record of their being in existence in that year. Hence they are not included in the tally.

† Not affiliated with the International, or date of affiliation is unknown.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

<i>Unaffiliated with Trades Council</i>	<i>Date Chartered by International</i>
Locomotive Engineers (Southern Pacific)	1882
Locomotive Engineers (Missouri Pacific)	1886
American Railway Union	1894
Switchmen	1900

Source: City Directories; files of the Locals; *San Antonio Express*, August 31, 1900.

light company and the traction company capitulated without a struggle, but the telephone company was less amenable. Granting of the workers' demands would mean an increase of fifty cents per day in the wages of linemen and a raise of \$5-\$10 per month for operators. Reduction in the latter's workday from twelve to eight hours would involve additional costs. Southwestern Bell officials attempted to forestall a strike of the operators by offering to increase wages \$5 a month and to reduce hours from twelve to nine if the girls would leave the union. The offer fell upon deaf ears. The girls left the telephone exchange instead. Fifteen linemen and 28 telephone operators walked out. When they walked out, 20 other operators walked in. For the Bell officials were ready. The employees had deferred their strike for two weeks at the request of the city's businessmen and of the management of the San Antonio International Fair, but in the interim the telephone company's manager imported experienced operators from Galveston. Within a few days, service was restored.¹⁷

Linemen were not so easily replaced, for electricians throughout the state were closely attached to the union. It was ten days before the first replacements arrived in the city. They were union men from Chicago, who had been informed that all linemen in Texas had gone to Galveston to repair flood damage. The recruits had been told nothing of the strike. When they were so informed, they refused to work and reported to union headquarters rather than to the Bell offices.¹⁸

Public sentiment again was with the workers. The Business Men's Club voted unanimously that "the demands of the telephone girls and linemen are just and in our opinion should be granted."¹⁹ A committee of businessmen attempted to get the opposing forces together, but the company refused to arbitrate with the union. The committee reported:

The telephone company was apparently willing to arbitrate differences between itself and its employes, but refused to do so through the union to which these same employes belonged . . . a distinction without a difference.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 4-5, 1900.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, November 13, 1900.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, November 13, 1900.

If the telephone company would recognize the union . . . the matter would be speedily adjusted and a scale of wages could be agreed upon. . . . We believe the cause of the employees to be just and that the company should accede thereto.²⁰

More was at stake, however, than the small increase in costs which acceptance of the strikers' terms would entail. The telephone company feared that recognition of the union in San Antonio would prompt workers in Dallas, Fort Worth, and elsewhere to organize and make similar demands. The vice-president of Southwestern Bell was quoted as saying: "I would rather spend \$100,000 to win this strike for the effect it would have on other cities."²¹

Other citizens also supported the strikers. Within one week of the walk-out, 600 of the 1,800 telephone subscribers requested removal of their telephones. Another 600 agreed to discontinue use of telephones during the course of the strike.²² The fire chief posted notices in all fire stations: "It is positively forbidden for anyone to use the telephone in this house for any purpose other than that which is absolutely necessary for the direct operation of the fire department."²³ The various local unions offered to raise \$5,000 weekly to pay the equivalent of the telephone operators' salaries.²⁴ And the City Council, in passing a resolution which recognized the wage demands of the strikers as "just and reasonable," deprecated the fact that the telephone company refused to arbitrate its differences with the strikers.²⁵

Bell officials were unmoved by the numerous expressions of public sentiment. After instituting a nine-hour day, six-day week, in lieu of the previous twelve-hour day, seven-day week, they expended every effort to continue operations with a nonunion force. For the first three weeks of the struggle picketing was relatively peaceful, but when a lineman was sent out to repair breakdowns, trouble went with him. Large groups of surly citizens followed him on his rounds and attempted to impede his every move. On one such occasion a strikebreaker accidentally killed a policeman who was trying to protect him from the angry crowd. Martin Wright, local president of the union, was wounded.²⁶ The gun-wielding lineman was tried and acquitted.²⁷ By that time the strike had been on for almost two months. The usual consequences of a long strike—gradual dissipation of public interest and sym-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1900.

²¹ *Ibid.*, November 14, 1900.

²² *Ibid.*, November 10, 1900.

²³ *Ibid.*, November 13, 1900.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, November, 12, 1900.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1900.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, November 30, 1900.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, December 15 and 30, 1900.

pathy—followed. Soon the Bell exchange had all the employees it needed and was functioning normally.²⁸

Although the strike against the Bell System was lost, it was not lost because of a divided union movement. Throughout the course of the dispute the various constituent unions of the Trades Council gave moral and financial support to the strikers. But similar cohesion was not evident the following spring when the Trades Assembly, predecessor of the Building Trades Council, demanded that the general contractors use union men on all building construction. The contractors insisted upon hiring men without regard to their union status. Within one week all union carpenters who worked for members of the Builders' Exchange, an association of general contractors, left their jobs. They were soon joined by the painters, the plumbers, and electrical workers. The four crafts stood together in refusing to work with nonunion men.²⁹

In less than a month the carpenters capitulated. They dropped out of the Trades Assembly and negotiated a separate peace with the contractors, settling for the general conditions which prevailed prior to the walkout. Union carpenters were taken back without discrimination when they agreed to work alongside nonunion carpenters. The local press was of the opinion that "this happy termination of the trouble so far as the carpenters are concerned will lead to a speedy adjustment of differences between other unions and employers."³⁰ The press was correct. The union members who returned to their jobs did so on terms prescribed by the contractors. This strike was lost also.

Thus the new century opened on an ominous note for the trade-unionists of San Antonio. Two concerted attempts to improve their status had been defeated. Up to this point, however, opposition to unions was on an individual basis. Employers still lacked an organization with which to combat the union movement.

Under the country-wide leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers the defect was soon repaired. Various trade-associations adopted open-shop programs and refused to deal with unions in their respective trades. The euphemistic Citizens' Industrial Association was prompted by the

²⁸ While the strike was in progress, a new telephone company, the San Antonio Independent Telephone Company, was under construction. Company officials recognized the union and agreed to pay the union scale, whereupon union members solicited customers for the new company. It is impossible to tell whether the strike at Bell was the most significant factor involved, but it is worth noting that the independent company continued to operate in San Antonio until 1917, outlasting by several years independents in most other communities. See *San Antonio Express*, November 19 and 20, 1900; the *City Directories*, 1900-1918.

²⁹ *San Antonio Express*, April 19 and 24, 1901.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1901.

NAM to propagandize open shopism as synonymous with "Americanism. Some cities, notably St. Louis, Missouri, and Dayton, Ohio, became entirely open shop."³¹

Signs of the times were visible in San Antonio. When the Brotherhood of Railway Express Employees at the local office of the Pacific Express Company struck to enforce its demand for recognition, the company replaced the union workers without appreciable interruption of its service.³² I. Sichel, manufacturer of saddles and harness, discharged his entire force of 22 union leatherworkers because they objected to working under his saddle foreman. Sichel expressed to the press the dominant notion of his era:

Before the men went I told them that if any one wanted to come back and work as an individual for me I would be glad to take him back on the same wage scale, but that he would first have to resign from the union.

I am not opposed to unions and am in favor of fair wages and hours, but I am not going to turn my business over to them.³³

The cooks' and waiters' union was more successful. Twelve union houses agreed to reduce hours of work from twelve to ten with no decrease in pay. But the proprietor of the Alamo Hotel fired his entire body of union workers the same day the union presented him with a new contract. He explained: "My style of business did not require union help."³⁴

All other disputes in the city paled to insignificance when Reagan Houston assumed the presidency of the San Antonio Traction Company. Houston, an inveterate foe of unionism and the leader of the open-shop drive in the city,³⁵ refused to continue contractual relations with the union of street railway employees. The union proposed arbitration of the two points at issue: the wage scale and union insistence that men be fired for nonpayment of union dues, but Houston refused. His viewpoint was summarized as follows:

Street car motor men and conductors are plentiful, and there are perhaps 40,000 in this country receiving less wages who would be glad to get your jobs. . . . Why should you appeal to the public to assist by coercive means . . . to compel us to retain you in our employ at a rate of wages exceeding that at which other equally capable men would be glad to accept?³⁶

When their suggestion to arbitrate was turned down, the men offered to continue working under terms of the old contract until after the forthcoming

³¹ For a detailed account of the open-shop drive of the early 1900's see Selig Perlman and Philip Taft in John R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labor in the United States*, IV, 129-37.

³² *San Antonio Express*, October 16-19, 1903.

³³ *Ibid.*, October 11, 1903.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, October 12, 1903.

³⁵ Personal interview with Guy Cude, secretary from 1901 to 1903 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, Division 100.

³⁶ *San Antonio Express*, October 5, 1903.

International Fair. President Houston replied by firing 5 men. Again the union offered to extend the old contract until after the Fair if no more men were fired except for cause. Other union objectives were forsaken, leaving arbitration of the wage scale as the only remaining point at issue, but when Houston fired 6 more men, including the president of the local, the union members walked out.³⁷

Throughout the course of the dispute Houston reportedly insisted that he recognized "the men's right to have a union";³⁸ that "no question of unionism has been involved."³⁹ To demonstrate his good faith Houston offered to help the men form a company union when peace was restored: "The Company not only will favor, but will invite them to form a union or association to be constituted wholly of the employees of this Company."⁴⁰ Within two days after the strike began, more than 100 professional strike-breakers arrived from St. Louis and other points, and Houston was quoted as saying that he could get an additional 200 if he needed them.⁴¹

According to the press, W. W. Bell, president of the local union, charged:

The Traction Company has made a contract with a St. Louis detective agency to break the strike, and on Wednesday night [when the strike began] there were 109 professional strike breakers in San Antonio and over fifty men on the way, the company paying these "men" \$5.00 a day to break a strike by hard working men who are trying to get \$1.80 to \$2.25 a day.⁴²

The company resumed operations on the second day of the strike and within ten days night-runs were restored. That service was not materially impaired is evident from a comment allegedly made by one of the strike-breakers: "We have hauled more people today than we did in two months during the strike at Scranton, Pa."⁴³

Resumption of service was not without incident; stones were thrown, windows broken, and passengers abused verbally. Numerous individuals were arrested for attempting to block the progress of the cars; others were jailed because they called the nonunion men "scabs." Late in the strike period, several cars were dynamited and a motorman claimed he was fired upon. A policeman on duty at the time insisted that the motorman was in error. A torpedo had been placed on the track, he said, and its explosion sounded like a shot.⁴⁴ The union disclaimed responsibility for any strike

³⁷ *Ibid.*, October 6-8, 1903.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, October 6, 1903.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1903.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1903.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1903.

⁴² *Ibid.*, October 8, 1903.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1903.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, October 10, 11, 13; November 23; December 17, 1903. One of the local strike-breakers who drove one of the cars that was dynamited was also fired upon by a strike

violence and urged its sympathizers to obey the laws. To this day one striker insists: "The Company dynamited the cars; the strikers didn't. If I would have dynamited a car, it would have gone up."⁴⁵ As it was, the cars merely jumped the track.

Apparently the seeds of open shopism bore fruit in San Antonio. Public support of this strike was not nearly so general as it had been during the 1899 dispute, even though this time the union was more conciliatory and its demands involved less encroachment upon traditional managerial prerogatives. The change in attitude was particularly evident among the members of the Business Men's Club, an organization that had been on labor's side in earlier industrial conflicts. They passed a resolution demanding that the dispute be arbitrated. Though the union was willing and the Traction Company unwilling to arbitrate, a second resolution insisted that proper police-protection be afforded so that the company could operate its cars. Little attention was paid to the protests of a maverick at the meeting who decried the cut-and-dried conduct of the session. He claimed that the meeting was "stacked" and did not fairly represent public sentiment.⁴⁶

Public officials were divided in their sympathies. The constable deputized 35 strikebreakers so that they could legally prevent unlawful action of the strikers. He deplored the fact that many officers were not doing their duty: "I don't believe there are more than fifteen officers in town that are in the fight heart and soul."⁴⁷ Some of the policemen must have made up for the recalcitrants, for an alderman charged at a City Council meeting: "The officers have almost suspended the Bill of Rights during the strike, and men have been arrested, incarcerated and held without bond for exercising their right of free speech."⁴⁸

The only groups in the city wholeheartedly behind the strike were the trade-unionists. Only after the striking union declared the fight lost and took the Traction Company off its unfair list did the other unions withdraw their support. The brewery workers were particularly loyal. They agreed to refrain from riding on streetcars during the course of the strike. The president of the local objected to this union rule, which had been adopted despite his opposition, and upon his complaint the secretary and 5 other brewery workers were indicted by a grand jury for violating the state anti-trust laws.⁴⁹ The indictments charged that the defendants "unlawfully con-

sympathizer. He informed the writer that if he had it to do all over again, he would not "scab." "You know, it's dangerous," he said. This same individual, a strikebreaker in 1903, was a leader in the movement to reactivate a union among the streetcar employees in 1916.

⁴⁵ Adolph Braum, in conversation with the writer.

⁴⁶ *San Antonio Express*, October 10, 1903.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1903.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1903.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1903.

spired, agreed, combined, and confederated together and by their combination of acts created a trust which created and carried out restrictions in the free pursuit of a business permitted and authorized by the laws of Texas."⁵⁰

Union leaders were incensed. In the first place, they had received a written opinion from the district attorney stating that their contemplated action did not violate the law. Secondly, the indictment in the case was criminal rather than civil. The local labor-paper fumed:

When a lot of merchants were caught a few months ago combining to regulate the prices of food the district attorney thought a civil suit was severe enough. For working men, however, another course is followed and they are indicted criminally. . . . The suits filed thus far in San Antonio appear to indicate that the civil clause [in the state antitrust statute] is intended for the trusts and the criminal clause for the labor unions.⁵¹

So far as is known, this was the first recorded attempt to declare a labor union a trust. Not until five years later did the United States Supreme Court rule that the boycott conducted by the hatters of Danbury, Connecticut, was a violation of the federal antitrust law. But Presiding Judge Edward Dwyer, sitting in the Thirty-seventh District Court, concluded that the Texas Anti-Trust Act did not apply to labor:

The acts charged do not come within either the letter or spirit of the provisions of the anti-trust law. The statutes of this state recognize the legality of labor unions and also the legality of such acts as these. . . . The acts charged did not constitute such a restriction of the free pursuit of a lawful business as is contemplated by the anti-trust statute. In the second place the anti-trust statute is a commercial statute and intended to prevent the combination, either of capital or of acts, in such a way as to effect [*sic*] commerce. The statute was not intended for labor troubles. The consideration of the provisions of the previous statute and the conditions that brought about the enactment of this statute and the proceedings which took place at the time the statute was enacted, convinces me that it was never contemplated by the legislature that such conduct as that charged in the indictment would be an infringement of the anti-trust statute.⁵²

Though loss of their strike against the Traction Company eliminated the streetcar men's union from the San Antonio scene for thirteen years, the union movement in the city was by no means dead. The Trades Council could still point, for example, to forty-two meat markets and fifty-five saloons that displayed union-shop cards.⁵³ Nevertheless, the activities of the Citizens' Alliance and other open-shop groups bore fruit; unions in the city were at

⁵⁰ Files of the District Court, San Antonio, Texas.

⁵¹ *Weekly Dispatch*, December 26, 1903.

⁵² *Ibid.*, January 16, 1904.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1904.

a standstill or declined in strength. By 1908, San Antonio, the largest city in the state, had fewer votes at the Texas State Federation of Labor Convention than did Beaumont, Fort Worth, Galveston, or Houston.⁵⁴

The following year her relative position improved. Galveston alone had greater representation at the state meeting. Most of the San Antonio unions reported that they were in good shape: the brewery workers said they were flourishing; the musicians were all working and their working conditions were better than they had ever been; the bartenders had 110 members, all employed, and only one nonunion bar operated in the city. Only the painters and carpenters complained. The latter's 500 members, on strike to enforce the closed shop, confessed that the open shop had demoralized the building trades and caused wages to be lower in San Antonio than in any other city of the state.⁵⁵

Apparently the carpenters really were in the doldrums, for the very next year their three locals dropped out of the Trades Council, claiming inability to pay the five-cent monthly per capita tax. The plumbers were more successful. Although two of the biggest concerns refused to acquiesce to union terms, the union secured a closed shop in seventeen of the twenty firms in the city. Meanwhile, most of the other unions in the city increased their membership, and five new locals appeared.⁵⁶

Of all the labor groups that existed in San Antonio during the first decade of the century, the union of public school teachers was the most noteworthy. Organized initially in 1898 as the Public School Teachers Association of San Antonio, the teachers turned to the Trades Council for aid in securing increases in their extremely low salaries. When the council informed them that official help could not be given unless they joined the council, the teachers voted to affiliate. Chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1902, theirs was the first teacher-organization in the entire United States to affiliate with organized labor.⁵⁷

Some of the teachers objected to joining the ranks of organized labor, but when 8 or 10 prominent teachers and principals approved of the move, 50 other teachers followed their lead. Salaries were promptly increased by 30 per cent, and—of more significance to many—the teachers were permitted

⁵⁴ *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention, 1908*, pp. 28–31.

⁵⁵ *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 86–88.

⁵⁶ *Proceedings*, 1910, pp. 117–18.

⁵⁷ Oscar E. Miller, "A Comparative Study of the San Antonio Teachers Council with Local Teacher Associations" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, 1936), 14–25, cited hereafter as "A Comparative Study." Miller, former president of the Teachers' Council, later became assistant superintendent of schools in San Antonio.

to meet and talk with the school board about salaries and working conditions.⁵⁸

The teachers' union was not only active in the Trades Council; its members played leading roles. W. J. Knox, a school principal, served as president of the Trades Council in 1903,⁵⁹ and Marshall Johnston, a teacher, was secretary of the council for several years. Despite the open-shop efforts of the Citizens' Alliance and the ill-feeling which union affiliation engendered among a vast portion of the populace, both of them rose to top positions in the city school-system. Knox became assistant superintendent of schools and Johnston was eventually appointed superintendent.⁶⁰

The affiliation of the teachers with the American Federation of Labor withstood the open-shop drive but apparently could not withstand prosperity and a friendly school administration. Typical of their colleagues in other communities who turned to organized labor during times of stress and rejected their good offices when conditions improved, the San Antonio teachers withdrew from the federation in 1910.⁶¹

Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, national affiliation appeared to have little effect upon the trade-unionists of San Antonio. Moral support and guidance were forthcoming, but nation-wide issues among specific crafts were hardly noticed in the city. Of course, the eight-hour movement and the open-shop campaign had repercussions, but these reactions were not contingent upon the national chartering of local craftsmen. However, when the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor was organized in 1909 to improve the bargaining position of the shop workers, San Antonio became a more significant part of the national picture; for five railroads served the city and employees on all lines were members of their particular craft union.

The impact of national affiliation was felt two years later when the Federated Shop Employees working on the Southern Pacific Lines left their jobs in an effort to enforce their demand for recognition of the new agency. Three hundred machinists, blacksmiths, boilermakers, and other shop workers in the railroad's San Antonio yards quit work.⁶²

In other cities rioting and disorder marked the strike, but in San Antonio "peace and prayer"⁶³ prevailed. Even when 37 strikebreakers arrived from the East, no attempt was made to interfere with them. The only significant

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-26. Valuable information pertaining to the activities of the teachers was supplied by Adolph Uhr, a charter member of the union.

⁵⁹ *Weekly Dispatch*, February 20, 1904.

⁶⁰ Files of the San Antonio School Board. See also Miller, "A Comparative Study," 26-27.

⁶¹ Miller, "A Comparative Study," 16. Seven other teachers' associations had followed the San Antonio teachers into the AFL but by 1909 had withdrawn.

⁶² *San Antonio Light*, October 1, 1911.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, October 6, 1911.

feature of the first few days of the walkout was the action of the boarding-house keepers along Austin Street, the favorite dwelling area of railroaders. Many of the houses displayed signs which read:

NONE BUT UNION MEN CAN EAT OR SLEEP HERE.
NO SCAB NEED APPLY.⁶⁴

The lack of living quarters for strikebreakers was quickly remedied by company officials who supplied quarters in Pullman cars. Only a temporary setback was experienced when the Negro cook employed to feed them refused to remain associated any longer with those "gentlemen scabs."⁶⁵

For almost six months no untoward incidents marred the operations of Southern Pacific's nonunion shops. On March 18, 1912, however, just before it was scheduled to pull a crowded passenger train, a locomotive blew up near the roundhouse. Twenty-six men were killed and 40 were injured in the worst accident in the annals of modern San Antonio. Some local railroad officials claimed it was the worst explosion of a locomotive in railroad history. Hands, heads, and feet of nonstriking or strikebreaking machinists, pipe fitters, *et al.* were found two blocks away. A piece of metal weighing seven tons landed in the vicinity. A two-hundred-pound fragment was hurled four blocks by the blast.⁶⁶

A board of inquiry, which included the chief boiler inspector of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission, investigated the circumstances surrounding the explosion. Two of the three safety valves from the locomotive were introduced as evidence. They had been screwed down—one of them as far as it could go. One witness testified that the roundhouse foreman had ordered the pop-off valves screwed down because they had popped off at 150 pounds of pressure instead of at the normal 200 pounds.⁶⁷ Other railroad men in the city claimed that the valves were closed by untrained technicians who were bothered by the noise of the escaping steam. Regardless of the reason therefor, the valves were closed, and the tremendous boiler pressure that resulted caused the destructive blast.

No other unusual activities disturbed prewar San Antonio. When the war came, expansion of military facilities, industrial prosperity, and an official government attitude of congeniality toward organized labor spurred the extension of unions in the city. From a prewar low of fewer than thirty

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, October 1, 1911.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1911.

⁶⁶ *San Antonio Express*, March 19, 1912.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1912.

locals, San Antonio by 1921 contained almost seventy separate unions.⁶⁸ The union movement in the city was stronger than it had ever been since the open-shop drive at the beginning of the century.

⁶⁸ City Directory, 1921-22, pp. 10-14.

An Appraisal of the Texas Veterans' Land Program

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THE TEXAS VETERANS' LAND PROGRAM has received considerable adverse publicity in recent months. Irregularities uncovered in the administering of the program stand out in sharp relief against its less spectacular constructive aspects and tend to make a farce of the aim of the legislators and the people of Texas whose vote of approval brought the program into being in 1949. The purpose of the program was to make it possible for all eligible veterans who so desired to become landowners in their home state.

Evidently uppermost in the minds of those originating the program was the opportunity to own land, rather than the opportunity to own a unit large enough to derive a livelihood from farming the unit purchased. Whether the loan-limit was set at \$7,500 simply to offer the advantages of the program to more veterans or whether it was due to a lack of understanding of the limitations of the \$7,500 loan in acquiring enough land to make a living in most areas of the state is not known. But this small loan-limit did help to give rise to the need for "block deals" (now stigmatized, though not all of these were questionable) and it continues to add to the number of uneconomic farm units in the state.

Although this study was completed in August, 1954, before irregularities in certain aspects of the program were brought to light, it is felt that these developments must be taken into consideration. While they by no means represent the complete picture of the program, a study which ignores them would be incomplete. Hence, this analysis is divided into three major sections: (1) the program as it appeared when the writer's original study was made, (2) recent developments, and (3) conclusions.

The Veterans' Land Program

Under the Texas Veterans' Land Program, the veteran selects a tract of land containing 20 or more acres which he desires to purchase. If after making an appraisal of the land, the Land Board approves the purchase, it buys the land directly from the owner and sells it to the veteran at the same price,

under a forty-year contract of sale and purchase. The veteran makes a down payment of 5 per cent of the purchase price and pays the balance in equal semi-annual payments at 3 per cent interest. Title to the land vests in the Veterans' Land Board, with the veteran holding a purchase-sale contract with the board. A tract of land costing up to \$15,000 will be considered by the Land Board, provided the veteran pays the excess over \$7,125. The board will not make a commitment for more than \$7,500 to any one veteran, including the required down payment.

The Veterans' Land Board had made 8,954 land purchases by July 1, 1953. Approximately \$60 million was lent to veterans during this three-and-a-half-year period to purchase land. Two hundred and twenty-eight veterans had completely repaid their loans. Two hundred and sixty-nine, or 3 per cent, of the borrowers had allowed their payments to become delinquent, for a total amount of \$93,909.09.

This study was based on a random sample of 10 per cent of the 8,728 active loans outstanding on July 1, 1953, and was made according to State Economic Areas as used in the 1950 Census of Agriculture. Since the number of loans made in Area 8—the blackland farming area—was greater than in any other area, further analysis of land purchases in this area was made. Questionnaires were mailed to 401, or 20 per cent, of the 2,005 land purchasers in Area 8. A total of 235, or 58 per cent, of the questionnaires were completed and returned.

The index of farm and ranch land prices in Texas increased from 251 in 1949 to 399 in 1953 (during the period 1935–39 it was 100).¹ It is likely that purchases made by the Veterans' Land Board have had some influence on this increase of land prices; certainly prices paid by veterans have increased considerably since the program began operating in 1949. With land prices rising, veterans have had to purchase fewer acres in order to stay within the limits of the maximum loan obtainable (Table 1). The average acreage purchased was more than 100 acres for all four quarters of 1950. During 1952, it did not reach 100 at any time. Veterans were paying about \$60 per acre for their land in 1950. By 1952, the price paid had gone above the \$100 per acre.

The United States Census of Agriculture for 1950 shows that 35 per cent of all farms in Texas are located in Economic Areas 8 and 12. One-third of the Veterans' Land Board loans have been made to purchase land within these two areas. With the exception of Area 13, these two areas have smaller acreages per farm than any of the other areas (Table 2). Also the value of

¹ John H. Southern and W. G. Adkins, *Texas Farm and Ranch Land Market, 1953*, Progress Report No. 1696, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, College Station, Texas, June 28, 1954, p. 3.

TABLE 1

Acres Purchased and Price per Acre of Veteran Purchases, by Years and Quarters, 1950-1953

Years and Quarters	Number of Purchases	Average Acres Purchased	Price per Acre
1950			
1st quarter	53	103	\$ 53.20
2nd quarter	97	107	59.30
3rd quarter	101	120	61.78
4th quarter	48	124	69.92
1951			
1st quarter	31	113	106.53
2nd quarter	18	136	77.41
3rd quarter	12	121	159.29
4th quarter	5	72	163.55
1952			
1st quarter	59	92	101.50
2nd quarter	84	99	110.63
3rd quarter	88	95	142.58
4th quarter	83	92	122.63
1953			
1st quarter	112	96	122.77
2nd quarter	78	83	110.73

land and buildings per farm is less for these two areas than for any of the other areas except 9 and 13. This is an indication that it is possible to purchase a farm in these areas more comparable in acreage and investment to other farms in the area with the limited amount of capital that can be borrowed from the Veterans' Land Board.

The acreage purchased by veterans was not as great as the average acreage for all farms in any economic area, nor was the value of their land and buildings as high. It is evident that in some areas of Texas the program could be used only to enlarge present holdings if the veteran expected to derive a livelihood from farming or ranching his land.

Area 8, the blackland area of Texas—Many combinations were found in relation to the veterans' place of residence and farming activities (Table 3). Only 8 per cent are living on this land and devoting their full time to its operation. Forty per cent neither live on nor operate their farms. Seventy-two per cent are not residing on this land, though 57 per cent are operating their farms on a part-time or full-time basis. Thirty-five per cent of the veterans combine their farm operations with off-farm employment.

Veterans in all occupational groups have made substantial improvements on their lands. Percentages of those making certain farm improvements are shown in Table 4. Considering all improvements listed, the two farmer

TABLE 2

Size of Farm and Investment in Land and Buildings per Farm for Veteran Purchases and All Farms and Ranches in Texas by Economic Areas

Economic Areas	Number of Veteran Purchases	Average Acres per Farm*	Average Acres Purchased by Veterans	Investment in Land and Buildings*	Investment in Land and Buildings by Veterans
1A	154	7,582	60	\$114,640	\$5,815
1B	106	4,519	115	103,869	6,624
2	489	699	92	32,398	6,450
3	471	2,208	52	44,898	6,402
4	281	1,175	97	64,468	7,127
5	123	714	106	38,969	6,800
6A	684	591	101	26,585	6,619
6B	65	698	116	28,202	5,456
7A	563	295	116	13,381	6,394
7B	319	179	84	16,851	6,329
7C	479	365	152	16,438	7,171
8	2,005	160	104	13,190	6,345
9	470	230	154	8,228	6,138
10	374	167	112	10,236	6,512
11	579	394	89	25,750	6,778
12	1,001	129	113	5,587	5,454
13	197	130	107	6,000	5,104
14	165	293	56	17,604	7,035
15	429	195	30	39,543	7,116

* Census of Agriculture for Texas, 1950, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 3

Present Status of Veteran Purchasers with Relation to Place of Residence and Farming Operations

Present Status of Veteran Purchasers	Percentage of Total Land Purchases
Live and work full time on land purchase	8
Live on farm but do not operate it	1
Live on farm, operate it, and have off-farm employment	17
Live on farm and operate it with adjoining land for full employment	2
Do not live on or operate farm	40
Operate farm for full-time employment, but do not live on it	2
Do not live on farm, but operate it and have off-farm employment	18
Live on adjoining land and operate it with purchase for full-time employment	8
Employed at farming, but not operating this farm	2
Live on adjoining land and operate it with this purchase, and have off-farm employment	2
Total	100

groups appear to be making more improvements than veterans in other occupations.

More than one-half, or 58 per cent, of the veterans purchased farms of less than 100 acres. Those purchasing farms of more than 150 acres generally had to invest more than the required 5 per cent down payment with the loan in order to purchase the land. Most of these purchases are too small in acreage and have too little investment to be comparable to all farms in the area. According to the 1950 Census of Agriculture, the only types of farms in the blackland with acreages of less than 150 are vegetable farms, fruit and nut farms, poultry farms, and general farms that are primarily livestock farms. These types of farms are rare, making up only 3.2 per cent of the farms in the area.

Only 1.8 per cent of the farms in the area have a value as low as the highest average price per farm paid by the veteran purchasers. Cotton farms, the most prevalent type, have an average value of \$14,332 per farm in the area.

The maximum loan-limit has had some influence on the price of land. In some instances sellers reduced the price to correspond with the loan-limit in order to make the sale. Most of the veteran purchasers receive income from nonagricultural sources, and many said that they did not expect the farm production to repay the loan.

Repaid loans.—Of the 228 borrowers who had repaid their loans to the Veterans' Land Board, 73 per cent have already sold their land. Eighty-one per cent of those who have not sold their land received enough income from mineral rights on land to enable them to repay their loans. When asked why they sold their land, most of them said they were offered too much profit to reject; a few listed declining farm commodity prices and drought conditions as their reason for selling.

Recent Developments

In the fall of 1954, a county prosecutor in a South Texas county found evidence that some transactions of the Veterans' Land Program were not in order. Investigations were begun by the State Auditor, the Attorney General, and the Department of Public Safety. It was found that irregularities had occurred in several land transactions which were made as block sales to veterans. A block sale is a transaction in which two or more veterans combine their loans to buy a tract of land. Since many farms and ranches in Texas have a value higher than the \$7,500 maximum loan allowed each veteran, it is necessary in many cases to make block sales to effect a transaction.

As more irregularities began to appear, the Senate General Investigating Committee stepped in to begin a thorough investigation of the program.

TABLE 4
Percentage of Veterans Making Certain Improvements on Their Land (by Occupation of Buyer)

[illegible]

They found such things as landsellers buying veterans' rights under the program for \$25; some paid as much as \$300. Some veterans were found who had signed papers to buy without knowing that they were purchasing land.

As the investigation broadened, Bascom Giles, state land commissioner for sixteen years, resigned his post on January 1, 1955, by declining to accept his ninth consecutive term. He was succeeded by J. Earl Rudder, who was appointed by the Governor on January 4, 1955. A few days later, Commissioner Rudder accepted the resignations of Lawrence Jackson, executive secretary of the Veterans' Land Board; U. S. McCutcheon, first assistant executive secretary, and H. Lee Richey, appraiser for the South Texas area.

Of the 15,601 veterans who have obtained loans, 1,880 invested in block deals. Some of the questionable transactions may be seen from the following example: A real estate promoter takes an option on a ranch, say of 5,000 acres. He finds 50 veterans to buy 100 acres each. They agree on a price which will leave a profit for the promoter. The promoter furnishes the 5 per cent down payment and agrees to make the land payments for the first three years. After this period he can buy the land from the veteran or let the state take it. All the applications are filed together and the appraiser for the board is sent out to appraise the land. If the applications are approved, checks are issued to pay the seller. The promoter takes the checks, buys the land with his option, resells it to the state, and the state resells to the veteran. The promoter takes an option on the ranch at, say \$175,000, and subdivides it into 100-acre tracts to sell for \$250,000. He pays the veterans \$100 each, or a total of \$5,000 to sign the applications. He makes their down payments, which amount to \$12,500, with \$1,750 for the closing attorney's fee. His expense so far is \$19,250. He pays \$175,000 for the land, bringing total costs to \$194,250. He sells the land for \$250,000, leaving \$55,750 for his part.

On July 1, 1953, after the program had been in operation approximately three and a half years, 269, or 3 per cent, of the borrowers had allowed their payments to become delinquent. During the next nineteen months, the number of delinquent loans rose to 2,511, or 16 per cent, of all loans. As of this writing, the Attorney General has filed suits to recover over \$2 million from promoters handling land sales. The former land commissioner who resigned last January 1 has been indicted for making large profits in connection with some of the land sales.

In addition to the previously mentioned investigating groups, the House of Representatives appointed a committee to enter the probe. Grand juries have also been studying the program. Testimony has been given which indicates that undue influence was used to rush the processing of certain applications. Other testimony indicates that some of the tracts under consideration for purchase were appraised two or three times and the value raised after each appraisal.

Conclusions

To be more acceptable in terms of an agricultural land policy, the loan-limit of \$7,500 should be increased to \$15,000 to permit the veteran to buy a farm more comparable in size and value to other farms in the area of the purchase. Only a small number of veterans have used the program to increase the size of farms already owned. In most of the areas where frequent purchases have already been made, an average-sized farm unit can be purchased for \$15,000. A loan of this amount would allow veterans to purchase average-sized farms in almost one-half of the economic areas of the state. It is too early in the program to analyze the repayment records of the borrowers, but it is possible that many veterans may not be able to make their payments from the operation of the units now being purchased.

Units purchased under this program appear to be more adequate for veterans with off-farm employment, or those who have possession of other land, than for those who want to work full time on this land. If it becomes necessary during the term of the loan for the veterans to operate their farms as their only employment, many would find it difficult to make their land payments from the small units being purchased. It would be a better policy to permit the veterans to buy a unit large enough to operate efficiently with mechanized equipment, even if it means fewer loans could be made. The size of units purchased by veterans has been decreasing while the acres per farm in Texas have been increasing.

A unique feature of the Veterans' Land Program is the repayment plan, under which the veteran has no equity in the land until the final payment is made. The Land Board sells the land to the veteran under a forty-year purchase and sale contract. The Land Board owns the land until the final payment is made, at which time the veteran gets the deed. Under this system, the veteran who has capital to add to his loan could lose more in the event of forfeiture of his contract. In any case, he should be able to obtain some type of mortgage insurance which would retire the land debt in the event of his death or permanent disability. From the standpoint of the veteran, it would be better to get title to the land at the time of the purchase. The Land Board could hold a first mortgage, which is the usual practice followed by credit agencies. This would permit the veteran to build an equity during the term of the loan. The interest rate, loan term, and size of the down payment are very favorable in comparison with other credit agencies.

Since the Texas Veterans' Land Program is limited to the purchase of land for veterans, those who cannot or do not want to farm, or do not want to purchase land as an investment, are completely left out. Possibly this encouraged those with no hope of legitimate gain through the program to "sell their rights."

Although corruption has been found in the administering of the program, probably not more than \$3 million is involved in the disreputable block deals. It is apparent that the law should be amended to prevent racketeering in the program. Also closer supervision of land appraisals seems necessary. The number of delinquent purchasers has increased rapidly in recent months. This may be due partly to the fact that the maximum loan is too small to purchase an economical unit.

Mississippi has a program for veterans similar in some respects to the Texas program. Oklahoma has voted favorably on a loan program for its veterans. Other states anticipating similar action for veterans should profit from the experience of the Texas program.

The Iraqi Development Board

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THE DEVELOPMENT BOARD was established in 1950 by Law No. 23, passed in May, 1950. The first amendment was Law No. 6 for 1952,¹ the last Law No. 27 for 1953, which is at present in force. The purpose of this paper is to explain the organization and functions of the Development Board, to indicate its wide scope of activities, and to give an estimate of the effectiveness with which its program has been, and is being, carried out.

Organization, functions, and sources of revenue.—According to the last amendment, the development projects of Iraq are to be executed by the Development Board and the Ministry of Development. The Development Board is made up of the Prime Minister, who is chairman, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Development, six executive members from private enterprise, and three experts from the respective fields of economics, irrigation, and another that is periodically prescribed by the Council of Ministers.

It is empowered to employ technicians, specialists, and consulting engineers, to do scientific research, survey future projects, and investigate the practicality of these projects. The administrative, economic, accounting, and technical offices are staffed partly by Iraqis and partly by foreigners.² The organization is divided into four sections: Irrigation and Drainage, Roads, Bridges, and Building; Industry and Mining; and Agriculture.³ In 1951, it

¹ Law No. 23 for 1950, its Amendment No. 6 for 1952, and its Supplementary Law No. 22 for 1951 have been annulled. For comprehensive study, see Development Board, *Compilation of Laws Concerning the Development Board, Revised* (Government Press, Baghdad, 1951), and the two attached supplementary statistical schedules; also Development Board, *Law No. 27 for the Development Board and the Ministry of Development* (mimeograph).

² For details, see H. V. Cooke, *Challenge and Response in the Middle East* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1952), 194–200; M. Ross, "Land Reform Tops Iraq Development," *New York Times*, December 10, 1950; M. Ross, "Iraq Seeks Expert for Drainage Plan," *New York Times*, October 31, 1950; and the *Middle East Journal* (Winter, 1951), 79.

³ The technical, financial, and administrative staff, as of 1952–53, numbered seventy-two; the technical staff supervising the execution of the various projects undertaken by the Development Board totaled sixty-nine. Furthermore, seven-five technical officials, including engineers, overseers, and surveyors, were appointed. All data from special information from the Ministry of Development and the Development Board, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1952–53* (Government Press, Baghdad, 1953) 1.

sent an Iraqi mission to Europe and the United States to select experts. Eighteen were chosen from England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and four from the United States.⁴ Presently, more than eight engineering consultants of international fame are engaged in studying projects and executing them.⁵

The main functions of the Development Board are investigating and exploiting Iraq's many natural resources, increasing the national income, and raising the standard of living of the people. It is authorized to negotiate contracts with private groups, to purchase equipment and tools, and to build plants. Its programs for economic development and construction cover a wide range: irrigation, drainage, and flood control projects; the construction, extension, and improvement of mainland, sea, river, and air transportation; the construction of public buildings and living centers for small- and medium-income earners; small irrigation and drainage projects; the improvement of branch roads serving villages and rural areas; and the filling of swamps and marshes.⁶

Priority is given to projects on the basis of their economic importance, their effect on the national income, and their relation to the facilitating of other projects. The law divides the projects into two categories: that of capital development, which is executed directly by the Development Board, and that of smaller projects, which are referred to other government departments with sufficient funds to carry them out.

The Development Board is financed by revenue from several sources. It receives 70 per cent of national oil royalties, intermittent sums allotted by law, and proceeds from loans contracted against government securities, in addition to the various other assets, interests, and revenues derived from its own projects.⁷ Total estimated expenditures for its present Six-year Economic Planning for 1951-56 are ID155,374,000, or \$435,047,200.⁸

Projects for Economic Development and Internal Improvements

Irrigation projects.—Irrigation projects include the following: the Wadi

⁴ Development Board, *Annual Report on the Operation of the Development Board for the Year 1951* (Government Press, Baghdad, 1952), 1.

⁵ For details, see N. Burns, "Development Projects in Iraq," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Summer, 1951), 362-69.

⁶ For interesting reading dealing with the magnitude of these irrigation projects, see S. H. Longrigg, "Prospects for Iraq," *Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, No. 5 (September, 1953), 276-90; *The Sterling Area*, Economic Cooperation Administration Special Mission to the United Kingdom (N. V. De Ar Beiderspers, Amsterdam, Netherlands [n.d.], 466; and Cooke, *Challenge and Response in the Middle East*, 194-200.

⁷ See Dorothea S. Frank, and Peter S. Frank, "The Middle East Economy in 1949," *Middle East Journal*, April, 1950, p. 241; M. Ross, "Iraq Acts to Keep Capital at Home," *New York Times*, January 14, 1950; and *Law No. 27 for 1953*, Articles 18-25, inclusive.

⁸ One ID (Iraqi Dinar) equals 1,000 fils, or \$2.80, or one pound sterling.

Tharthar Scheme; The Habbaniyah Project; the Diyalih Dam; the Dokan Dam; the Bekhme Dam; various irrigation projects for Erbil and Mosul provinces; a drainage project (in which the Board co-operates with the Directorate-General of Irrigation) that covers 25,000 *mesbaras* (one *mesbara* equals 2,500 sq. m.) in Dujaila Settlement, 166,000 *mesbaras* at Saklawiyah, and 31,300 *mesbaras* at Twaireeg; the utilization of water from the Tigris and the Euphrates; the remolding of the Al-Shamiyah riverbed and safeguards against its being diverted; the maintenance of regulators and technical works in Hilla Canal, Gharaf, Greater Musayyab, Haffar, and Gurm Hassan; a remolding of the mouth of the Euphrates at Soq Al-Shiyukh, and the further construction of canals that will be fed by the Tigris and Omara rivers; and the building of dykes to protect Basrah City from inundation.

The Development Board also does much toward the reclaiming of land and the purchasing of laboratory equipment, books, and cars for the use of foreign technical experts engaged in this phase of the work. Two laboratories for soil analysis are to be constructed, one of them at Abu Ghraib's agricultural station.⁹ Knappen-Tippets-Abbett-McCarthy, a New York firm of consulting engineers, were engaged to make a study of the country. Their report included recommendations for irrigation projects and their locations, as well as soil classifications and methods of improving crop cultivation by rotation. The report classified 22 million *mesbaras* as fine irrigable land, 13 million as poorly cultivated land, and 9 million as potentially irrigable. By proper storage, distribution, and drainage of water, all 9 million *mesbaras* of the last classification can be provided with adequate year-round irrigation.¹⁰

An extension to the Latifiyah Canal has made available an additional 25,000 *mesbaras*, which have been distributed among the landless farmers, according to the Law of Development of Miri Sirf Lands. The Ministry of Agriculture has made ID80,000 available for the development of forests. The Development Board has also given much-needed attention to animal husbandry and to the improvement of grazing areas and shelters, as well as to artesian wells and drinking water, at a cost of ID1,279,103, or \$3,581,448.

Construction.—Nine hospitals and 6 dispensaries are in the process of being completed. Already completed are 31 dispensaries, 107 houses for doc-

⁹ For these agricultural laboratories, ID83,000 was allotted. In addition, ID362,500 was made available to the Ministries of Agriculture, Economics, and Communication and Works for reclamation of lands. See W. R. Nelson, "Iraq's Development Board," *Amgrad*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Baghdad, August, 1953), 6; *Annual Report of the Operation of the Development Board*, and *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1952-54*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

tors and health officials in different towns and rural areas, 66 elementary schools, and 1,000 housing units for poorly paid workers and government employees near Tel Mohammed in the Baghdad area. Another 400-unit project is to be constructed in Basrah City. Other plans include the building of summer-resort houses in the mountainous areas; the surveying of land, both on the ground and from the air; the expansion and replacement of communication lines and equipment; and the construction of air fields. Of especial interest to the Development Board has been the construction of highways and bridges all over the country, with much improvement of those already existing.

Industrialization.—The Development Board attaches considerable significance to the industrialization of Iraq. It is interested in industries and mining and has provided the funds necessary for establishing various industrial concerns. The potentialities of several projects will be studied and submitted for technical decision, including rayon, by-products of the date, textile products, meat, the casting of iron, elemental sulphate, and tire manufacturing. The total cost of industrial projects is ID36 million (\$100.8 million), excluding sums for special studies and scientific research.¹¹

Industrial projects are as follows: establishment of a bitumen refinery at Qaiyarah, which will supply 60,000 tons of asphalt per year; utilization of natural gas from the Kirkuk oil fields; development of petroleum by-products, such as sulphur and carbon-black; production of chemical fertilizers; generation of electrical power for a cement plant; investigation of the feasibility of establishing a small steel plant; construction of two cement plants; establishment of a cotton textile plant of 25,000 spindles and 500 looms; construction of a woolen textile mill; the building of a sugar-beet plant; and the development of hydroelectric power from newly erected dams.

The Development Board believed that certain dams could furnish hydroelectric power at a minimum cost. Several consulting firms were engaged to study these projects to determine whether the cost of generating power by this method was actually cheaper than generating it by Diesel or thermal methods. They report as follows:

There can be generated electrical power of 125,000 kilowatts from the Samara Reservoir; 2,700,000 kilowatts, or one-fourth of the power produced at the TVA in the United States, from the Bekhme Dam. . . . The same can be expected from the Aski Mosul Reservoir.¹²

¹¹ A statement by the Minister of Development in his news conference on February 25, 1954. It is quoted from a mimeograph (in Arabic), sent to this writer by the Ministry of Development.

¹² From Ali Haidur Sulaiman (Minister of Development), "The Economic Development" (mimeograph in Arabic, 1954), 5.

Establishment of all these projects will be made either directly through the Development Board or indirectly through the Iraq Industrial Bank, which granted the necessary funds for this purpose.

It should be emphasized that all these projects will be State-owned and will not be used by, or sold to, private enterprise.

Unfavorable Aspects of the Development Board's Projects

1. The progress of developments has been somewhat impeded by the fact that when the Development Board was established in 1950 there was considerable disagreement as to what its powers actually were. It was supposed to be an independent department, with no State control over its policies. There was fear that the completion of broad projects would benefit only the *shaikhs*, the large landowners, and the wealthy class, to the neglect of the major part of the population—the *Fallabeen*. On the other hand, there was also the fear that if greater attention was given to the *Fallabeen*, to the exclusion of the urban landowners, it would decrease the latter's power.¹³ Moreover, many believed that if attention was concentrated on new irrigation projects, reclamation of old land might be neglected. The State was aware that ownership or rent of irrigated and reclaimed lands might be made on long-term agreements with *shaikhs* and large landowners, whereas allotments extended the share-croppers would be very limited.

2. The fact was apparent that since technology and new techniques develop slowly among workers—both in the city and in the country—permanent benefits from the new projects would also be slow in developing.

3. The Development Board failed to arm the *Fallabeen* with sound advice regarding soil conservation, drainage, modern cultivation, and utilization of farm machinery. Completion of a new project is not necessarily an indication of its success unless the settlers can utilize the irrigated and reclaimed land and raise its productivity. In many cases, settlers moved to other land because drainage facilities were inadequate and because the high saline content in the soil was not counteracted to insure long-run production; this neglect will cost the Development Board a great amount of money for reclamation, in addition to the millions of dinars already spent in maintaining its present policy. It will increase migration and restlessness among the farmers at a time when permanent settlement is demanded if there is to be a solution for their social and economic woes.

4. The Development Board neglects the building of modern crop-storage facilities, a failing considered one of the major obstacles to agricultural development. Famine, crop losses, high costs, and a high level of purchasing are problems that could be solved if storage facilities were provided.

¹³ For details, see Cooke, *Challenge and Response in the Middle East*, 196–97.

5. The favoring of agricultural projects over industrial schemes is significantly reflected in the prevailing policies. Agriculture constitutes but one part of the Iraqi economy. Pouring tremendous wealth into agricultural projects—to the virtual exclusion of the development of industry, mining, technical education, social problems, marketing, labor relations, protective measures for farmers producing raw materials, and building efficient managerial and technical staff—is a waste of both time and money.

6. Lack of technical data as well as human and economic data.¹⁴

Conclusions

On the whole, the Development Board has failed to accomplish many of its objectives. Success is not measured only by the recruiting of experts, engineers, specialists, or in the constructing of huge dams and buildings; it is measured to a greater degree by the extent to which it stimulates the people to undertake and fulfill their part in reaching the ends that have been planned. One might think that the Development Board would benefit from its experiences of the past, but there has actually been very little change in its policies. It should study the causes of past failures, especially those of irrigation, and attempt to eliminate them.

Generally speaking, what the Development Board needs is not only the execution of present projects but far-looking programs *based on a study of social and economic problems*. The projects should be co-ordinated with the solution of such problems. A modern scheme cannot be successful unless it utilizes modern techniques and methods. And these depend on providing education, good health, technical knowledge, and deep understanding. In my opinion, human relations and social studies are not only underestimated, they are neglected. And they are neglected because of the absence of sociologists and social science experts on the recruiting staff of the Development Board.

¹⁴ In this connection, W. R. Nelson wrote: "The experts and engineers should know meteorological characteristics; the hydrology of rivers and topography; physical and chemical characteristics of the soil, availability of construction materials, and available transport for the materials. . . . Basic human data is also important. . . . Through impatience, the importance of these basic data is overlooked. . . . The results are disastrous."—*Loc. cit.*, 5.

Will Fair-Trade Laws Provide the Desired Protection?

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IN AN ECONOMY in which price is the primary regulator of what products and services shall be produced and consumed, how much, and where, it is to be expected that considerable difference of opinion should exist as to the "correct" price of a product. This difference in point of view appears not only between immediate buyers and sellers; it is also evident in the prices businessmen think their competitors ought to ask or even the prices that buyers and sellers several strata removed should quote. Because most business institutions are organized along trade or product lines, and groups of them perform highly similar functions, similar problems tend to arise. Many of these are related to pricing and have given rise to group demands for legislative price-protection. It is sometimes said that the American people are living in a "there-ought-to-be-a-law" era.

The logic underlying the enactment of legislation permitting manufacturers of branded goods to specify designated or minimum resale prices for their products has been a controversial subject. In view of the fact that forty-five states passed "fair-trade" laws within a remarkably short time and largely have retained them, some of the conditions under which these laws operate may well be examined.

First of all, the present laws of this type were a product of the depression of the mid-thirties, when governmental aid for economic problems of all kinds appeared to be the easy solution. After all, didn't many manufacturers insist that they must have tariff protection? Didn't laborers insist that they must have the right to bargain collectively and that a minimum wage must be established? And weren't the farmers demanding that their crop prices be supported by the government? Each spoke in terms of a "fair price" for the product or service it was selling.

Historical Development of "Just Price"

The idea of a just price reaches far back into history. It has always been a somewhat popular concept, but it has been difficult to crystallize and put into practice. The early Greeks—primarily Aristotle—the pre-Christian jurists,

and later such scholastics as Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, all advanced the idea of a price or value that was "just."¹ Briefly stated, the doctrine of "just price" was that "every commodity has some one true value which is absolute, and is to be determined and be objective on the basis of the common estimation of the cost of production, which usually covers labor."² Such a price bore no necessary relationship to the value attached to the product by either buyer or seller. The law as an outside force was supposed to determine the actual price. The experience of the craft guilds in applying just pricing is enlightening. In order to maintain quality standards, they usually enforced uniform prices. The idea as to what constituted a just price usually turned out to be the producer's figure.

In the United States, the nature of the problem changed at approximately the beginning of the present century, when goods became more plentiful and middlemen played a more important part in distribution. A wholesaler or retailer would buy merchandise from the manufacturer and on occasion sell it for less than the latter's planned or stipulated price.

As evolved, the planned resale price usually consists of the manufacturer's price plus adequate margin to cover the operating expenses and profits of the middlemen. For any of the retailers to sell at less than the specified price is considered "unfair" by either the manufacturer, other retailers handling the product, or both. Not all manufacturers attempt to recommend or specify resale prices, but the policy is followed frequently enough to constitute the heart of the fair-trade problem. To the extent that market coverage necessitates selling through some high-cost wholesalers and retailers, the resale price naturally tends to reflect these higher costs.

Effects of Change in the Marketing Structure

To understand the manufacturer's position with respect to price-maintenance laws, one has to take cognizance of the changing American market and its effect upon the market structure. Up to approximately 1880, the expanding American market had grown faster than the country's distribution facilities, and manufacturers were glad to have wholesalers open up and develop new territories. With the growth of large-scale industry, however, business became more competitive, and manufacturers gradually began more aggressive selling and attempted to protect markets already obtained. The very nature of the service wholesaler as a supplier of many brands prevented his aggressively promoting any of them. Largely to offset this and to strength-

¹ Henry H. Bakken, *Theory of Markets and Marketing* (Madison, Wisconsin, Mirmir Publishers, 1953), 228.

² Lewis H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought* (3rd ed., New York, Macmillan Co., 1936), 99.

en his position in the market, the manufacturer now frequently did extensive brand advertising. As planned, this usually created a consumer-preference for his brand. Wholesalers and retailers found the product easier to sell. But the very attractiveness of the product also made it a good "leader" or "loss-leader" for aggressive retailers. If other retailers attempted to compete, they might earn little or no profit on the product, often causing them to drop the item from stock. Assuming that these retailers and wholesalers are significant cogs in the producer's distribution plan, his interest in the enactment of resale price-maintenance laws is evident. In some trades, however, such as the drug industry, it is the retailers who have been primarily responsible for such legislation.

Legislative and Judicial History of Resale Price Maintenance

Federal laws on resale price maintenance were slow to evolve, but have changed rapidly in recent years. Up to 1911, agreements to maintain prices were not considered illegal. In that year, however, the Supreme Court, in its decision in the *Dr. Miles Medical Company* case, held that contracts between sellers and buyers for the maintenance of resale prices were illegal, as they constituted a restraint of trade and violated the antitrust law.³ Related court decisions followed, and manufacturers who wished to have uniform retail prices found themselves limited to several alternatives. They might select their customers, sell merchandise on consignment, operate their own stores, or try persuasion.

In 1936, the Supreme Court, in a changed outlook on the problem, legalized resale price maintenance on intrastate transactions.⁴ Price-maintenance laws were enacted freely from 1935 to 1937. Practically all of these laws, initially or later, contained a provision that nonsigning retailers, as well as dealers who signed a contract with the manufacturer, were responsible for selling at the stipulated or minimum price set by the dealers who signed. Federal enactment of the Miller-Tydings bill in 1937 legalized the use of interstate price contracts between firms in states that have fair-trade laws. In 1951, however, the Supreme Court held that nonsigning retailers were not obligated to observe vertical price contracts if interstate commerce was involved.⁵

This blow to fair-trade pricing proved to be a light one, for in 1953 Congress passed the McGuire bill, which again legalized the controversial nonsigner clause and otherwise strengthened this pricing policy. In view of the continuing changes in this country's market structure, one may seriously

³ *Dr. Miles Medical Co. v. Park & Sons Co.*, 220 U.S. 373.

⁴ *Old Dearborn Distributing Co. v. Seagram-Distillers Corp.*, 299 U.S. 183.

⁵ *Schwegmann Bros. v. Calvert Distillers Corp.*, 341 U.S. 384.

doubt that the final chapter has been written regarding this controversy; economic forces probably will be the final determinant.

The Manufacturer's Dilemma

The growth of chain stores, super markets, department stores, discount houses, and other large-scale retailers has added fuel to the pricing fire. The size of their purchases frequently has given them the advantage of lower cost of merchandise, an advantage readily available because of the economies to the seller. If the product bought is well known and branded, and these mass merchandisers choose to convert their cost advantage into a lower price, they usually are able to take some sales volume away from the smaller competitors.

Sometimes the price differential can be justified on the basis of lower retail operating expense, but regardless of this condition the manufacturer finds himself in a dilemma. The small retailers object to the lower price quoted by the large-scale retailers and threaten to drop the brand or sell it only upon insistence of consumers. The manufacturer is in danger of losing the small retailers' good will. The large buyers, however, conscious of their growing importance in American life, bargain sharply for low prices. Volume becomes an important factor. If no concessions are received, they may threaten to buy and promote a substitute brand. In cases where bargaining becomes exceedingly sharp, the legality of certain discounts under the Robinson-Patman Act may become an issue. The manufacturer's administrative policy as to the relative importance of many small outlets versus fewer large ones becomes important.

Alternative Methods of Maintaining Resale Price

Manufacturers have approached the problem of price control in a number of ways, but no one method has emerged as a cure-all for sellers generally. The objections often outweigh the advantages. For example, the seller has the right to refuse to sell to retailers who cut prices, but sometimes the aggregate sales volume of the offending retailers is so large that refusal to sell to them would constitute competitive suicide in their markets. If a product is in strong demand, it also frequently is possible for these retailers to purchase the necessary stock from other trade sources even though the manufacturer refuses to sell to them.

Selling on consignment gives the producer complete control of pricing, but the investment in stock called for by such a plan and the cost of operation make it impractical for most companies. Few manufacturers have attempted to integrate in this manner for the purpose of maintaining price.

If the manufacturer can reduce his manufacturing and selling costs, he is in position to increase his trade discounts to wholesalers and retailers. The resulting lower net price to the trade should improve their competitive position, decrease the incentive to cut price, and provide a stimulus for complaining retailers. However, if large-quantity discounts can be earned by some large-scale retailers, or the latter have lower operating expenses and choose to quote lower retail prices, the problem of price differentials has not been solved. Reduction of the manufacturer's costs is a step in the right direction, but a large part of the manufacturer's problem lies in the high costs of some of the outlets upon whom he is depending.

Competition between Marketing Institutions

In analyzing retail price differences for a given volume of a brand at a given time, it is evident that the condition may be the result of various causes. One retailer may have lower operating expenses than another and decide to quote lower prices, depending upon a larger volume of business to obtain maximum profits. He may be offering fewer customer services, carrying a faster-moving stock of merchandise, or reducing costs generally through better management. A second type of price-reducing retailer may not have lower total operating expenses initially, but may attempt to build volume through the use of "leaders," or even "loss-leaders," and depend upon his over-all margin to offset any individual losses suffered. This type of situation can lead to the most extreme form of price-cutting and has caused a number of states to enact the type of "unfair-practice" act that places a cost floor below which goods may not be sold. Since "cost" is difficult to define, the laws based on both average costs and on the costs of individual sellers have been difficult to enforce.

Emergency conditions and a fast-changing market also may bring about price variations, but these account for little complaint. It is largely the clash of the changing retail and wholesale institutions that has brought about the fair-trade laws. Whether these laws can solve the manufacturers' and retailers' resale-price problem in a competitive economy is open to question, aside from the legal approach as to their constitutionality.

Economic Forces at Work

The real test of the desirability of the fair-trade laws from the manufacturer's point of view appears in connection with a strong buyer's market. It is impossible to legislate buying habits and demand for goods. Retailers generally may come under pressure to sell at prices and in a manner that causes manufacturers to find resale-price maintenance impractical. The price-cutting found in some fields in recent months, taking the form of fantastic

trade-in values for quite unrelated items, and the growth of discount houses provide a glimpse of what may happen. Varying amounts of retail service and differences in its character also influence consumer-patronage. Pricing laws which ignore this variation overlook a factor that has a cash value.

The weakness of legislative price-supports, brought out so sharply in connection with some agricultural crops, may also appear in the utilization of fair-trade laws. Resale prices provide a good umbrella for both the efficient and inefficient. As more retailers are attracted, the pie is cut into more pieces. The hoped-for profit of the individual retailer may become a delusion. This is especially true under the increasing amount of "scrambled" merchandising now in operation, whereby some trade lines are almost obscured. The competition between the grocery and drug trades is a case in point.

Some Final Comments

Contradictory surveys have been cited to show that fair trade results in higher or in lower prices. Much depends upon the product or trade being investigated, the level of economic activity, and the consumer buying-habits. The effect upon a consumer who has consistently patronized the downtown cut-rate store will likely be different from the effect upon the patron of the typical neighborhood store.

In the aggregate, fair-traded items are said to account for less than 10 per cent of the total retail sales volume in America.⁶ Some trades, such as the home-appliance industry, have been using this pricing policy rather extensively. The latter industry, however, is having difficulty in obtaining enthusiastic support for the policy. The National Retail Dry Goods Association recently was reported as having estimated that 85-90 per cent of major appliance sales in the United States are being made by discount houses.⁷ An indication of the difficulty of maintaining resale prices is found in the General Electric Company's recent decision to abandon factory-set retail prices on almost all of its major appliances.⁸

The American people have a difficult decision to make. They want to obtain their consumer goods at the lowest possible distribution cost, for this increases the standard of living, but they also want an economy containing a large number of small business establishments.

This dual objective is somewhat difficult to attain. In retailing, differences in efficiency of operation are particularly great. The rise of new types

⁶ Address by Congressman John A. McGuire at a meeting of the Pharmaceutical Council of Greater New York, October 1, 1952.

⁷ *Time*, December 6, 1954, p. 103.

⁸ *Business Week*, November 27, 1954, p. 25.

of retail institutions and the missionary work being done among retailers by manufacturers and wholesalers may well lead to a continuing reduction in the cost of doing business and to lower prices. If our country is to operate as a truly competitive economy, perhaps manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers alike should put more effort into improving the marketing of their products instead of depending upon legislative pricing.

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD: *The Fifth Amendment Today*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. 82 pages. \$.50.

It is an eloquent commentary upon the spirit of our times that one should find it necessary to applaud the publication by the dean of the Harvard Law School of a defense of the Fifth Amendment. Law professors have been publishing explanations of the Constitution ever since it was written. But Griswold's little book is not so much an explanation as it is a defense. It seeks to explain why protection against compulsory self-incrimination and the guaranty of due process of law are not only desirable, but absolutely indispensable for justice. Since the Fifth Amendment has not been adequately appreciated in some circles in recent years, like a good teacher Dean Griswold describes the history of its key provisions as well as their present meaning.

The three chapters of this book were originally lectures delivered during 1954. They are written in simple, non-technical language and can be understood by any layman who takes the trouble to read them. He will learn that the privilege against self-incrimination is, to use Griswold's phrase, an old friend, going back in English history to the Star Chamber highhandedness of the seventeenth century. Far from be-

ing trivial, the privilege is "one of the great land-marks in man's struggle to make himself civilized." And it has been especially needed where men have been charged with such offenses as heresy or political crimes, for governments have always had difficulty in securing evidence where opinions or beliefs are important ingredients of the alleged offenses. Above all, the reader will learn that there are very good reasons why some men may plead the privilege even though they are innocent of whatever they have been charged with. The author also urges that before passing judgment we always consider the character of the question asked, and the nature of the body doing the asking.

In discussing the meaning of "due process," Griswold makes a point which the friends of civil liberties should never tire of making: liberty depends upon the existence and observance of proper procedures. In this connection he expresses his deep concern over the character of the investigations conducted by some—though by no means all—Congressional committees. Following the example of the President, however, the Dean mentions no specific names. He thinks the remedy lies in the adoption by Congress of a code of fair procedure. Such a code, as a minimum, would eliminate the one-man subcommittee, at least for involuntary witnesses; it would require commit-

tee action for the issuance of subpoenas; it would give a witness advance warning of the subject and scope of the inquiry, and guarantee the assistance of counsel, who would have the right to speak in behalf of his client as well as advise him; it would forbid publication of summaries of, or selected portions of, testimony taken in executive session; and it would prohibit making the witness submit to broadcasting, television, newsreel cameras and other aspects of show business. The Dean also believes that "a legislative investigation is improper when its sole or basic purpose is to 'expose' people or to develop evidence for use in criminal prosecutions."

Finally, the author takes the position that there ought to be effective sanctions to make these procedures mean something. In this connection he makes the interesting suggestion that a witness should be relieved, by law, of the obligation to testify if the prescribed procedures are flouted.

Griswold calls attention to the complexity of Fifth-Amendment problems and to the extent that they have ramifications outside the hearing room. He points out how important it is to have the police observe proper standards, to avoid "pre-trial in the newspapers" on the part of prosecutors, to prevent the reporting in the newspapers of evidence not offered in the trials of criminal cases, and to make the right to counsel more effective. He also deplores the indiscriminate use of informers and secret evidence, especially in loyalty and immigration cases. He is less than enthusiastic about circumventing the Fifth Amendment by means of immunity statutes.

This sensible little book should be

widely read. Its message is timely, and its advice is sound. Griswold writes calmly and dispassionately. He is concerned but not excited, for he has faith in the good sense of the American people.

David Fellman
University of Wisconsin

ROSE HUM LEE: *The City: Urbanism and Urbanization in Major World Regions*. Chicago, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955. 568 pages. \$5.50.

This urban sociology text makes a conscious effort to carry the student beyond the confines of his own society. Four chapters out of the twenty-five are devoted specifically to a discussion of urban patterns in other societies. The subtitle is, however, misleading, for only a few major world regions are discussed; such areas as Eastern Europe, the USSR, the Near East, and Latin America are not treated. The author's pioneering effort is most commendable. All too long sociology has evinced a certain degree of ethnocentrism, with the result that many of its generalizations concerning city life are open to question.

The bulk of the book is devoted to a summary of American urban life. This section surveys the traditional subject matter—e.g., population, urban ecology, institutional patterns, communication media, urban personality, social disorganization, and city planning. On the whole, this portion is sound from a textbook point of view.

As is true of any text, certain limitations, some merely troublesome, others more serious, are evident. Although the author is to be complimented for her

broad perspective, the very section which deals with world urbanization is also the least satisfactory. It contains some valuable information, but this is at times poorly presented. This situation is due in part to a dearth of adequate data on a number of societies, in part to unsatisfactory organization of the material and, to a certain extent, to lack of scholarship. Some key sources seem to have been overlooked: as an example, her discussion of western European cities makes no mention of Dickinson's significant work, *The West European City*.

The questionable organization throughout, but especially in the section on world urban communities, stems, it seems to me, from lack of a well-thought-out theory. Although the rudiments of such a theory appear to be present they are certainly not developed. That this book is cast primarily on a descriptive rather than an analytical plane serves most students' interests well enough but offers the sociologist little that is new for an understanding of urban life.

Although it has its drawbacks, the book merits consideration on the part of those who offer courses in urban sociology.

Gideon Sjoberg
University of Texas

ROSCOE BAKER: *The American Legion and American Foreign Policy*. New York, Bookman Associates, Inc., 1954. 329 pages. \$4.75.

Baker's study is a bold venture. He attempts to describe the work of one of the most powerful pressure groups in American life and its influence (for

better or for worse) upon the foreign policy of the United States. But he accomplishes more than he sets out to do because he seeks to probe the well-springs of the Legion's pronouncements on foreign affairs.

Since it is admittedly difficult to consider objectively the activities of the American Legion, the author has gone out of his way (and for once the publisher's jacket blurb is correct) to be moderate and fair in dealing with such controversial topics as the Legion's attitudes on aliens, immigration, and naturalization, the "Battle against Communism," "National Defense," "Isolation and Neutrality," "Inter-American Affairs," and "Peace and International Co-operation." He aptly illustrates how the Legion's stereotype of the alien as a radical or potential subversive has often colored its views on immigration and naturalization to the point where the Legion has often insisted upon making this a major foreign policy issue. This is interesting, though not surprising, in the light of the vast number of Legionnaires who are second- and third-generation Americans.

On the other hand, the Legion's attitude toward international communism has been more lucid, though certainly more dense on the methods of dealing with communism on the domestic level. Similarly, consistency in the views of the Legion on national defense has been matched by its confusion and inconsistency on the issues of isolation and neutrality during the period between the two world wars. It is only fair to say, however, that in this respect the Legion has merely reflected the temper of the American public which shifted from internationalism to

isolationism and back to internationalism again.

But even more discouraging was the close association between Legion policy and the narrow nationalist and isolationist lines of William Randolph Hearst and the late Colonel Robert R. McCormick. This aspect of the Legion's career presents some striking similarities to the work and views on foreign policy of the Grand Army of the Republic in the years between 1866 and the early twentieth century. Like the venerable G.A.R., the Legion has often approached the point where nationalism becomes chauvinism.

The value of this work is enhanced by pertinent charts and appendices, an adequate index, a full bibliography, and footnote citations, which, though at the end of the book, are not lacking in accessibility or completeness. A simple and attractive format and effectiveness of expression make for good reading of what will remain for some time a very controversial subject. Baker has certainly done justice to the reader as well as to the American Legion.

Joseph O. Baylen
Delta State College

HARVEY C. LEHMAN: *Age and Achievement*. Princeton University Press, 1953. 359 pages. \$7.50.

At what stages of their lives did the cream of Western thinkers and artists of the past three centuries or so make their major contributions? This is the problem studied in Lehman's work. It also describes the ages at which leadership has been attained and maintained and devotes some space to similar in-

formation concerning high-salaried people.

The results are nearly always put in the form of a frequency distribution, in which class intervals comprising chronological age (five years wide generally) are matched against the arithmetic mean of the annual contributions per living individual in each interval for a group of, say, scientists. The results are extremely interesting. In numerous distributions we see a relatively sharp rise in frequency as we proceed from the lower to the more advanced ages, a peak generally in the thirties or early forties, and a more gradual decline than the earlier expansion as we go into middle and old age. The number of fields thus scrutinized is well above fifty, the number of charts many more than this. The distributions, as one would expect a priori, show sharp differences one from another, but it is noteworthy that they also yield strong family resemblances. A striking point is that such similarities are often most marked for allied fields. For example, the modes of nine distributions for the biological sciences are all between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine.

The confidence that can be placed in the results of a work of this nature must rest in large measure on the adequacy of its techniques in searching out facts. As to these, we notice first that Lehman generally excludes living individuals, his greatest interest being in the deceased. The reasons are not morbid and macabre, however; rather, as he puts it, (1) it is difficult "to judge the actual significance of quite recent work," and (2) we do not know what the living thinker will accomplish as he gets older. As regards the first point, the works of the deceased in this study

are judged by writers of the past half-century—almost entirely those from 1895 to 1945. The judges of earlier eras had somewhat different notions of top-caliber achievement than those of today, and further alterations will take place tomorrow. As to the second point, for Lehman's distributions it is usually unnecessary to know what will be accomplished in the later years of one's life. The removal of an Einstein therefore needlessly narrows the field of study.

The author consistently estimates the quality of any given creative piece by the number of times it is mentioned in a group of histories of the general subject under scrutiny. The more often it is cited the better he takes it to be. This, I submit, is not objective evidence, and the cumulation of subjective estimates does not produce a different genus, an objective standard. For example, his list of economists leads to treating the works of Saint-Simon, Bastiat, Ingram, and Sismondi as greater than those of Cournot, Walras, Böhm-Bawerk, J. B. Clark, and (may the departed soul of Schumpeter forgive me) Veblen. This collection of judgments would, I think, be hard to defend. Again, his list of best-loved operas contains compositions by Balfe, Boito, and Lortzing but makes no mention of the composer of *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Such methods of comparing quality of output also subtly array the works of the aforementioned three higher in the quality scale than *The Magic Flute*, *Tannhäuser*, *Tosca*, *Otello*, etc. On the adequacy of the results obtained with respect to the last point, the author has some sound but, as I think, insufficient arguments. Finally, in extracting "quality" in a par-

ticular field, he accepts a work if it is noted in at least five out of fifty histories, while in other fields, to arrive at minimal standards of high achievement he accepts citations in at least three, ten, twelve, and thirteen out of forty-nine or fifty compendia, subjectivity slithering in once more. Why the differences? We are not told.

Another weakness is the insufficient attention paid to characteristics of the distributions other than averages. To illustrate: the figure on page 185 is said to reveal "that, in general, the larger the total number of notable contributions made by a given individual, the younger the age at which that particular individual started his research career." However, closer examination of the chart discloses that this is true up to the age of thirty to thirty-five, approximately, but then contributions per individual remain fairly stationary—at around 2—until about fifty years of age, thereafter holding relatively constant at close to 1. Use of measures of deviation is rather scarce and is also faulty. (His illustration of the meaning of the standard deviation, pages 273–74, appears to be an unhappy one. The mean plus-and-minus-one standard deviation does not give a range within which are included around 68 per cent of this distribution.) Moreover, we look in vain for standard errors and significance tests.

In view of all this I find it hard to think of this book as the definitive study. And yet 'tis passing strange that Lehman's curves possess sharp peaks so consistently.

Ralph J. Chances
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JAMES W. PROTHRO: *Dollar Decade: Business Ideas in the 1920's*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, 1955. 256 pages. \$4.75.

Dollar Decade is one in the excellent series of books on "Government and Public Administration" published by LSU Press. It fills a gap in our literature by analyzing the political theory of big business during the 1920's—the heyday of conservatism and the supremacy of business in America. In view of the recent swing back to conservatism in this country the study is timely.

The book is based on statements and publications of officials and spokesmen of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce. While the latter perhaps cannot speak fully and adequately for all business, it seems to be the best available source of information on prevailing conservative business ideas in America.

Dollar Decade concerns itself with the political views of business on such topics as the nature of man, society, and government. Recurrent themes include elitism, materialism, economic pre-eminence, stability, antipopulism, and individualism. With these, business could find a solution for almost any problem which might arise. A governmental solution was agreeable if wedded to economic interests.

The author concludes that the greatest indictment of business theory during this period was the betrayal of the responsibilities of conservatism itself. The business view was identified with conservatism—if, indeed, not Americanism—yet business leaders were unable to rise above the narrowest inter-

ests of the minority. The extremity and rigidity of their stand in a nation moving towards democratic ideals went far to discredit conservatism in general.

Since 1952, conservatism has once more become a respectable political theology, but Prothro feels that again there are overtones of reaction. Conservatism is betrayed when it becomes the property of any minority, and it suffered its greatest betrayal during the twenties when it enjoyed its greatest opportunity to develop a sustaining appeal. Will business leadership again muff its opportunities during the 1950's? This is the author's question and challenge to the business community. Written as a whole with objectivity, the book is interesting, and it fills a niche in the political and business history of this nation.

Ervin K. Zingler
University of Houston

LORD RUSSELL of Liverpool: *The Scourge of the Swastika*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1954, 259 pages. \$4.50.

WHITNEY R. HARRIS: *Tyranny on Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg*. Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1954, 608 pages. \$6.00.

WILBURN E. BENTON and GEORGE GRIMM (eds.): *Nuremberg: German Views of the War Trials*. Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1955. \$4.00.

The Nuremberg War Trials and others of secondary importance occasioned the gathering of the vast amount of documentary materials dealing with the structure and operation of the Third Reich. A study of these materials, most

of which are available in official publications in English translation, reveals the horror that lay beneath the façade of Hitler's government. A thorough study of this material is essential not only for a proper understanding of the nature of totalitarian government but also as a salutary antidote against the complacency and forgetfulness that has followed our initial revulsion at the beastliness of national socialism. Unfortunately, the published documentation, together with the verbatim reports of the trials, comprises a mass of material whose sheer bulk and lack of adequate indexing make it unusable to all but specialists in the field.

This defect has been admirably corrected, first in Russell's *The Scourge of the Swastika* and more recently in *Tyranny on Trial*, by Harris. The first of these is a distillation from the legal evidence of the basic crimes committed against humanity by the Nazi leaders. Disregarding the problem of the legality of the trials, Russell fastens upon the facts presented and in short compass leaves the reader with the untouched picture of Nazi brutality. Harris' account covers the same ground but in greater detail and contains considerably more material on the organization of the International Military Tribunal and the international legal problems involved in the establishment of a basis for its jurisdiction. Both authors deserve commendation for making the material available in usable form. No individual living today can afford not to read these coldly objective analyses of man's inhumanity to his fellow man, nor can he any longer plead that the essential facts have not been made readily available to him. In this last sense lies the significance of these two works.

The third volume, edited by Benton and Grimm, presents the views of a series of distinguished German jurists, some of whom were defense counsels at the War Crimes Trials, on the legal aspects of the proceedings. Certainly the Nuremberg trials represent a departure in international law. As to the legal basis for this departure and, indeed, as to the substantive justice of the proceedings, doubt has arisen in the minds of many lawyers concerned with international aspects. Regardless of these doubts, new precedents have been established which cannot but have their effect on the development of future theories and policies in the realm of international law and relations. The remarkable fact about the German opinions voiced in these articles is that, though the authors take exception to some of the legal reasoning advanced in support of the Allied position and point out the difficulties in which we ourselves may be enmeshed after some future war, they are still, by and large, in agreement with the results of the trials. This alone gives hope that Germany may be able to rehabilitate herself as a member of the international community. In any event we have here presented for us a significant and interesting record of the reaction of the German legal profession to the implications and justice of Nuremberg. In his introduction Benton has also provided an able and useful summary of the historical development of the concept of illegal war.

Of more serious import, perhaps, is the question as to whether the public exhibition to the German people of the truth about the Nazi regime will cause them to recognize the enormity of the crimes committed by their government

and awaken them to a sense of shame for the part they played as individuals in their perpetration. A recent book by Milton Mayer, *They Thought They Were Free*, indicates that in spite of the publicity given the Nuremberg trials, the bulk of "little people" in Germany are still unconvinced of the criminality of the Third Reich. Here in our own country, despite the availability of the documentation of German policies and actions resulting from the publication of Russell's and Harris' books, many of our citizens will be too busy to read, and—failing to read—will not understand the dark forces which lurk inherently in all totalitarian ideologies. Bishop Butler once said, "Things being what they are, and their consequences being what they will be, why do we wish to deceive ourselves?" The reply in our case may well be that we deceive ourselves because we refuse to inquire into things as they are. Perhaps this lack of inquiry will prove fatal to our Western democratic way of life. Above all, it should be emphasized that these books are not propaganda, but documented, factual accounts of events occurring in our own lifetime. If responsible citizens fail to read, note, and inwardly digest their message, they will do so at their own peril.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
University of Texas

QUINCY WRIGHT: *The Study of International Relations*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955. 642 pages. \$6.75.

MORTON GORDON and KENNETH N. VINES: *Theory and Practice of American Foreign Policy*. New York,

Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. 562 pages. \$2.95.

Wright's new book is principally concerned with methods of thinking about international relations. While it is impossible to do justice to this meticulously detailed, encyclopedic work in the space available, three of its principal merits may be noted. First, the bulk of this study is devoted to a critical examination of the underlying assumptions and modes of analysis used in international politics, international organization, international economics study, and in such additional constitutive fields as war, diplomacy, political geography, and the sociology and psychology of international relations. Indeed, sixteen different disciplines are analytically described and compared. Particularly useful are his judicious assessments of the contribution each can make to the broader international relations discipline.

Second, Wright attempts to define the prerequisites and to sketch the contours of a unified discipline of international relations. Rightly emphasizing the central importance of an adequate conceptual scheme, he ventures far on this difficult terrain. He identifies what he considers to be significant and inter-related variables within two broad concepts of "capability" and "value." He then seeks quantifiable indicators for these variables and attempts to present the whole as one coherent, twelve-dimensional model of the international world. This creative effort not only reveals many of the difficulties still remaining, but it should encourage others to dare in a similar direction. Third, scattered throughout the text are many suggestive hypotheses and tentative

propositions eminently worth systematic testing.

This exploratory study will be particularly useful to specialists in the field of international relations proper and to those in neighboring disciplines who wish to secure more direct knowledge about international relations. It will be a boon to graduate seminars on international relations methodology. The style, alas, proceeds at that slow-moving, inexorably heavy-footed pace so characteristic of Wright's other writings.

Unlike Wright's book, Gordon and Vines's offering is not on the frontier of international relations. Rather, it is a first-rate volume of collateral readings for an undergraduate course in American foreign policy, well-organized in presentation and reasonably inclusive in coverage. Its selections on the American approach to international politics are well chosen, the chapter "Forces that Shape Decisions" provides unusually useful materials on social, cultural, and opinion factors, and the final selection, "Contemporary Design of American Foreign Policy," presents a wide variety of readings on many important aspects of contemporary policy.

Yet there appears to this reviewer to be some grave and curious omissions. There is no analytical discussion, or any other kind, of the decision-making process itself. More serious, throughout the study insufficient consideration is given to the military component of American policy. No materials examine carefully the advantages and liabilities of the growing role of military personnel and strategic criteria in the formulation and execution of contemporary foreign policy. Nor is there any discussion of the crucial and intractable difficulties in the way of merging military

and political judgments as a preliminary to sound foreign-policy choice.

Notwithstanding these and other omissions the authors have provided us with a very useful collection of materials for undergraduate use.

Howard Wriggins
Vassar College

W. EUGENE HOLLON: *Beyond the Cross Timbers. The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-1887*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. 270 pages. \$4.00.

Historians are fortunate that Hollon is a self-confessed "frustrated explorer." "Had I lived a century ago," he writes, "I would have pushed back new frontiers and opened wilderness roads in the manner of the men chosen for my heroes." Hampered by the restrictions of civilization, he has been forced to seek vicarious adventure in the careers of the bold pioneers who did unlock the geographical secrets of the American Far West. His biography of Zebulon M. Pike has already established him as a master of that art; in this equally sound volume he rescues from oblivion another far-roaming pathfinder of plains and mountains.

That the author can endow Randolph B. Marcy's career with excitement is tribute to his own skill as a biographer, for his subject's contributions were disappointingly few. Massachusetts born, Marcy graduated from West Point with an undistinguished record, served for a time in frontier posts in Wisconsin and Michigan, acted as a recruiting officer during the Mexican War, and did not reach the West until 1848, when he was trans-

ferred to Fort Towson in the Oklahoma country. During the next twelve years he located several new forts and Indian reservations, guided a party of two thousand forty-niners to Santa Fe, headed an expedition that first explored the headwaters of the Red River, and participated briefly in the Mormon War. During the Civil War his contributions were few, justifying Hollon in his summary treatment of these years and of Marcy's later Army service.

There seems little in such a record to justify either the fame that Marcy enjoyed during his lifetime or the author's somewhat extravagant belief that he was "one of the important soldier-explorers of the nineteenth century." After all, Marcy saw not a foot of country that was not already well known to the trappers and plainsmen who had roamed the West for a quarter-century before his Red River expedition of 1852. Like Pike, Long, and Fremont, Marcy gained popularity by publicizing the Far West rather than by actual pioneering of it, and this seems a minor accomplishment.

Despite the handicaps inherent in his subject, Hollon has written a sprightly book which deserves a place on the shelves of anyone interested in the American frontier. He has immersed himself so completely in the affairs of the Marcy family—using personal letters and the voluminous reports in the National Archives—that the reader feels the sadness that comes with each of Marcy's failures, just as he does the thrill of traveling the vast spaces beyond the Cross Timbers. The book is scantily documented, though the author's thorough familiarity with the sources is apparent in each line. A brief bibliographical note is included,

together with a number of excellent illustrations.

Ray Allen Billington
Northwestern University

NICHOLAS S. TIMASHEFF: *Sociological Theory. Its Nature and Growth*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. 329 pages. \$4.50.

Here is another in the series of volumes designed to present an overview of sociology in such form as may be assimilated by moderately advanced students. Whether it attains this objective will probably be judged more in terms of the predispositions of the readers than on the basis of what the book itself does or does not contain.

Those who like the work of Sorokin will be very pleased with Timasheff's work. This is, of course, another way of saying that those who like the work of Lundberg, or Parsons, or any of the many others who do not relish Sorokin, will be displeased. Not that the book is a polemic in favor of the Sorokin point of view; but obviously Timasheff treats Sorokin more gently, and praises his ideas more generously, than would most. Conversely, it may come as something of a shock to find Parsons excluded from the group of analytical sociological theorists who have centered attention on the idea that the social group is a system.

Organization of the book is, roughly, a combination of chronological, biographical, and logically related materials. Sociology is seen as emerging through the work of Comte and Spencer, being molded by a series of more or less extraneous forces, such as Dar-

winism, and finally forming clusters about such fundamental notions as those embodied in neopositivism, ecology, functionalism, and analysis. But philosophical and historical remnants remain to be treated along with such peripheral topics as geographic and demographical determinism.

An attempt is made to classify the theories of the various persons and schools under answers to five basic questions: What is society (and culture)? What is the basic social unit? What is the relationship between society, culture, and personality? What are the factors determining the state of, and change in, a society? And what is sociology and what are its appropriate methods?

After a none-too-successful attempt to use this scheme, Timasheff attempts to summarize the state of contemporary sociology in a series of statements with which he thinks most sociologists would agree. These are, in attenuated form: (1) Sociologists have forsaken their discussions as to what the discipline should be in favor of descriptions of what it actually is. (2) Social phenomena are now recognized as being irreducible to nonsocial terms. (3) Interaction is the basic social phenomenon. (4) Interaction produces groups, which are systems constituting a whole greater than their parts. (5) Groups assign status to the persons who are members. (6) Groups of various sorts function to satisfy human needs, in line with norms established by society. (7) Another area of study is composed of social processes, including co-operation as well as competition and conflict. (8) Culture, unlike society, has nonsocial determinants, such as soil, but such determinants are

always plural. (9) Social change is to be explained in terms of diffusion and acceptance of invention; evolution has been abandoned.

But, Timasheff is careful to add, not all sociologists would accept all of these propositions, so that there is yet no integrated sociological theory.

Harry Estill Moore
University of Texas

EDMOND DE S. BRUNNER and WILBUR C. HALLENBECK: *American Society: Urban and Rural Patterns*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. 601 pages. \$6.00.

This book, written by two well-known authors of the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University, is a valuable addition to the substantial list of books intended for the use of introductory classes in urban and rural sociology. The authors follow the widely accepted concept that the urban-rural dichotomy is obsolete, and present their material in the form of a rural-urban continuum. Although this theory has been recently challenged by some anthropologists and sociologists, this is not the place to pursue that issue. The book is described as an experiment in organizing important aspects of sociological knowledge in terms of specific objectives and in allowing students to utilize their own experience in their community in order to gain a better understanding of its structure and operation. The work does not aim at making a contribution to a systematic theory of urban and rural sociology, but it is a product of careful consideration of readings and teaching experi-

ence, though not original in either approach or analysis.

As an elementary, easily readable, simple introduction, the book can be readily understood by freshman and sophomore students—for whom it seems mainly designed. The large number of stimulating, well-selected illustrations are helpful.

The structure of the book divides the content into five parts. The first discusses the cultural background and fundamental ideas of American society; the second, family, neighborhood, and community; the third, various types of communities; the fourth, their function and structure; and the last part, community development.

In the reading references at the end of each chapter, the authors offer suggestions for longer discussions in other textbooks, primarily in those of the authors themselves—J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, and Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, *American Urban Communities*, as well as in some research findings. One might wish that they had given a wider variety of suggestions in order to make the students familiar with such references as Svend Riemer's *The Modern City* in Chapter 7 ("The Community"); Helen L. Witmer, *Social Work: An Analysis of a Social Institution*; Helen I. Clarke, *Principles and Practice of Social Work*; and Eveline M. Burns, *The American Social Security System* in Chapter 19 ("Combating the Hazards of Life"); Arthur Hillman *Community Organization and Planning*; and Wayne McMillen, *Community Organization for Social Welfare* in Chapter 25 ("Planning for Better Communities"). In a revised edition, some errors in Chapter 19

should be corrected, e.g., that unemployment insurance in our country is not financed by workers' contributions (p. 435); that a fourth categorical assistance program for the totally and permanently disabled has been created by the 1950 amendment of the Social Security Act (pp. 436–37); and that self-employed persons are not covered under unemployment compensation (p. 436). Above all, the figures on covered groups, benefits, and contributions in old-age and survivors' insurance are outdated and need correction in view of the important changes of 1954.

On the whole, the book presents its broad material with a skill and clarity which will be appreciated by its readers.

Walter A. Friedlander
University of California (Berkeley)

WALTER A. FRIEDLANDER: *Introduction to Social Welfare*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 683 pages. \$6.75.

A cautious estimate would indicate that social welfare expenditures in this country amount to over \$15 billion each year. Expenditures of such magnitude deserve study, not only by those planning to engage professionally in some aspect of social welfare, but also by all who wish to be enlightened citizens. This is the newest of several books designed primarily for use as a text in undergraduate social welfare courses, but it will be of interest and value to the general reader as well.

Friedlander has provided a well-documented, extensive survey of social welfare activities in the United States. He puts major emphasis on the governmental programs of social insurance

and public assistance; programs, both public and private, offering counseling and other services to families and individuals; child-care programs; social services provided in medical and psychiatric settings; social group-work and recreational programs; and social welfare aspects of correctional work, both with juvenile and adult offenders. The book also reviews expanding social welfare activities in industry and public housing. Special attention is devoted to veterans' services and international welfare activities.

This survey of current programs is preceded by an extensive historical accounting of the development of social welfare in England and the United States. Throughout the book, there are description and analysis of the major social-work methods utilized in such programs — social casework, group work, community organization, social welfare administration, and research.

The book is outstanding in its description of social welfare legislation and its presentation of extensive, well-chosen, and timely bibliographies. One hopes, however, that the publishers, in future printings, will correct the many grammatical and typographical errors in the text.

Charles W. Laughton
University of Texas

JOHN M. ANDERSON: *The Individual and the New World: A Study of Man's Existence Based upon American Life and Thought*. State College, Pennsylvania, Bald Eagle Press, 1955. 202 pages. \$4.00.

Cursory browsing in this book will reveal that it discusses such familiar

topics as Puritan theocracy, eighteenth-century rationalism, nineteenth-century romanticism, the frontier movement, and Jacksonian democracy, and such well-known individuals as Emerson, Calhoun, and Dewey. But if the material that the author handles is old, his treatment is new. The essential problem with which the book wrestles is philosophical rather than historical.

In his search for a definition of man's nature, Anderson hunts through the thickets of the American past. He considers the frontier movement particularly meaningful. The pioneer who set out into the wilderness achieved a significant kind of freedom. By accepting the uncertainties of an unknown world, he achieved both a sense of self and a sense of common humanity, since he shared this experience with others. Similar insights are found elsewhere in the American past. The Shakers, for example, achieved freedom through their cult of simplicity and creative craftsmanship. Even the demoniac drive of American businessmen gained meaning in its implicit sense of the drama of human life.

In treating individual American thinkers, the author concentrates upon the ideas which each contributed to a clearer understanding of man's nature. Emerson and Thoreau emphasized man's autonomy and his ability to achieve largeness of character. The excessive individualism of the Transcendentalists was altered in the work of Calhoun, Royce, and Dewey to emphasize man's ability to work towards social goals.

Anderson concludes that man may be free when three conditions have been met: He must set out into the wilderness, that is, he must commit

himself to the potentialities of an unknown world. He must give this journey into the wilderness a human meaning. And finally he must find a warrant for his journey in the contingent patterns of nature, which enable man to choose the human path to which the gift of his creativeness commits him.

It is not difficult to find minor points upon which to quarrel with the author's treatment of history. Hunters preceded farmers into the West not because they were "able to break away from the older traditions and beliefs of society as individuals while larger groups were restrained by the complexity of their ties to existing society in the East" but because hunters have always had to take to the woods if they wanted to shoot anything. The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railroads raced each other in laying down track so as to take advantage of the land-grant provisions rather than out of a sense of human drama. The Shakers were not in any literal sense a frontier religion.

Such points as these on which the reviewer (a historian) might disagree with the author (a philosopher) do not really detract from the value of Anderson's work. If a reader wishes information about the past, he will be better advised to seek it elsewhere. If he already knows the essential facts of history and is ready to reflect upon their meaning, he will find this a moderately difficult but stimulating and rewarding book.

Nelson Manfred Blake
Syracuse University

ROBERT H. TALBERT: *Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West*. Fort Worth, Leo Potishman Founda-

tion, Texas Christian University, 1955. 90 pages. \$2.00.

This short volume, prepared for the Texas Good Neighbor Foundation, deals with the socio-economic characteristics of white persons of Spanish surname in Texas, Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico. It is primarily an analysis of the statistical information about this cultural group contained in the 1950 United States Census of Population and Housing, especially in the Special Report, published under the title "Persons of Spanish Surname." Comparisons of the data on white persons of Spanish surname are made with the data on total populations and non-white populations.

The title of the study is somewhat misleading in that, though selected information is given for all five states, a more detailed analysis is given for Texas. Chapter II, for instance, presents data on geographical distribution, nativity, and age characteristics for the five states, but it also presents detailed data on these factors for Texas. Approximately half of Chapter III deals with educational differentials in the five states and the other half with educational differentials in Texas. In the chapters on marital status, economic status, and housing, the tendency to give detailed attention to data for Texas alone is less pronounced. The data in all the chapters are clear and concise, but it would have been desirable if data as complete as those for Texas could have been given for all of the five states.

The report makes available in usable form statistical information on white persons of Spanish surname in the Southwest and the West. As the

author states in the Introduction, this category refers to something more than merely a collection of family names. He points out that "persons of Spanish surname, in varying degrees, are separated, and often think of themselves as being separated, from the general population. In a sociological sense they are a minority." They are a minority peculiar to the Southwest and parts of the West and a minority about whom, until relatively recently, there has not been a great deal of information. This report is a contribution to the now steadily increasing sources of information on the subject.

Sigurd Johansen
New Mexico College of A. & M. A.

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL, JESSE D. JENNINGS, and ELMER R. SMITH (eds.): *Readings in Anthropology*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. 417 pages. Cloth, \$5.00; paper, \$3.75.

The 52 papers in this book of readings fall into eight groups—general anthropology and method (6), prehistory (5), physical anthropology (7), primitive technology (5), primitive society (16), language (2), society and culture (8), and applied anthropology (3). The major objective of this anthology is to supplement Hoebel's introductory text, *Man in the Primitive World* (McGraw-Hill, 1949). The arrangement of the articles follows the order of presentation of topics in the text. In the Preface the editors say that the bulk of the selections were drawn from the works specifically underlying Hoebel's text and that the student can now read them in

their original form. The student who attempts to do this will be badly frustrated. Only 10 of the 52 selections in the reader are to be found among the 414 works referred to in the footnotes and bibliography of *Man in the Primitive World*.

A second stated objective is to fill in gaps in the text. Three selections on applied anthropology will give the student a good view of that field. On the other hand, the two articles on language are too narrow in scope to acquaint him with linguistics. The omission of linguistics was probably the greatest fault of the first book.

The third objective—to bring the earlier text up to date—is more adequately met. Twenty-three, or nearly half, of the selections were unavailable when the textbook was written. The impossibility of keeping a book from being out of date by the time it is off the press is dramatically illustrated in the treatment of the "Piltdown Hoax." Washburn's statement had to be added as an appendix and, at the last moment, that had to be supplemented by a footnote. Even though this anthology does not completely fulfill the stated objectives of the editors, it is, by far, the best book of readings in general anthropology that the reviewer has seen.

Wilfrid C. Bailey
University of Texas

PREMIER GAMAL ANDUL NASSER:
Egypt's Liberation. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1955. 119 pages. \$2.00.

Two and a half years of revolutionary government of a remarkably dedicated and humble character have

brought Egypt, land of so much beauty and poverty, to the threshold of a new era of hope and vigor. The focal point in this achievement is Gamal Abdul Nasser and his Council of the Revolution Command. In philosophy and in personality, the regime of Nasser is despotic and dedicated; but it is sensitive to public opinion, knows where it wants to go, and for the moment wants no added difficulties of parliamentary government in its way. Nasser himself impresses us not only with his record, but also with his credo, significantly entitled "The Philosophy of the Revolution." In general, it is a sort of *ex post facto* ideology of his revolution, seeking to provide the deep roots of the movement which culminated in his *coup d'état*. Foreign observers of the events should study Nasser carefully, for he also delineates his policies for the future. For him "Israel itself is but a result of imperialism." He hopes for Arab unity. So far as Africa is concerned, "We will never in any circumstances be able to relinquish our responsibility to support, with all our might, the spread of enlightenment and civilization to the remotest depths of the jungle." Islam "should become an institution of great political power and significance." At home, Nasser believes that "the July 23rd revolution must maintain its initiative and ability to move swiftly in order to perform the miracle of traveling through two revolutions at the same time." And this is to be achieved under Nasser's rule: "And our guardianship is only for a specified and limited time."

It would be most unfair even to compare this ideology of the Egyptian revolution to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* or Stalin's *The Foundations of Leninism*.

But it is only fair to place this warm volume alongside the works of Masaryk and Beneš who, in a similar vein, wrote the nationalistic ideology of their people within the democratic philosophical framework.

Joseph S. Roucek
University of Bridgeport

RAYMOND L. LEE, JAMES A. BURKHART, and VAN B. SHAW (eds.): *Contemporary Social Issues*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. 864 pages. \$3.95.

This is a notable collection of popular as well as scholarly readings in a "problems" approach to contemporary social, political, and economic issues. The chapter headings describe the book's content: "Society and Social Change," "Democracy and the Ideologies," "The Politics and Administration of American Government," "Personal Maladjustment and Crime," "The Family in a Changing Society," "Racial and Cultural Minorities," "Rival Economic Ideologies," "Evolution of American Capitalism," and "The United States in World Affairs." The editors provide short but lucid introductions.

In each problem area, "we have . . . chosen authors who are zealous defenders of a point of view rather than judicious compromisers." Thus we get Ehrenburg *vs.* Frederick Lewis Allen, Sorokin *vs.* Burgess (on the future of the American family), Bilbo *vs.* Lillian Smith, Senator Douglas *vs.* Dean Russell, Dr. Henderson *vs.* Bernard DeVoto—and others not quite so zealous.

The question arises: Is this the best way to teach social science problems?

It is certainly not the way science develops, nor, probably, understanding. Debate may cloud issues more than clarify them. This is especially true when the debate is led by partisans (a sober argument need not be a "judicious compromise"). Take, for instance, the issue of socialized medicine. Dr. Henderson gives the stock A.M.A. view, and DeVoto, at his most combative, demolishes A.M.A. practices in a biting, slashing attack. What has the student learned about a great social problem? Very little. What is needed is a more systematic course of readings to provide facts and analysis, to supplement the more "interesting" debate book. In the area of health, for instance, the Henderson-DeVoto readings would be enormously illuminated by a close study of the monumental dissection of the A.M.A. appearing in the *Yale Law Journal* for May, 1954. The whole "debate" principle rests on the assumption that there are two sides to every story. This is no certain path to an understanding of problems; sometimes there are three or more "sides." Often it's not a partisan fight but a matter of multiple-factor analysis, e.g., juvenile delinquency; perhaps in some issues there is only one side which can be justified by American values, for instance, "race." The reviewer believes that a course in contemporary problems should give the student four things: (1) some facts about particular problems; (2) a theoretical frame of reference with which to analyze these—and other—problems; (3) the conviction that problems are not easy to solve (to forestall early disappointment and cynicism); and (4) an equally strong conviction that something *can* be done about them, through understanding

and plain hard work. This book does not adequately meet all of these criteria.

There are plenty of excellent readings here for the student, but one can't help wondering if such books are not as often used as convenient sources of crucial readings for the instructor. In either case, the book performs a valuable, though limited, function.

Warren Breed
Newcomb College
Tulane University

LELAND D. BALDWIN: *Survey of American History*. New York, American Book Company, 1955. 786 pages. \$6.00.

The author has compressed a surprising amount of information into 786 pages. The first 118 pages carry us from Columbus through American independence; the remaining pages pick up at that point and bring us up to date.

A marginal outline reveals a well-organized discussion. Black and white maps (97) are very useful.

Forty-six illustrations—often cartoons—are amusing and pertinent. Each chapter has a selected up-to-date bibliography. An appendix carries a general bibliography, an author-index to the chapter bibliographies, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, a list of the Presidents with some personal data, the Vice-Presidents, Secretaries of State, Supreme Court Justices and their terms of office (even new Justice Harlan), the national population by decades, and a subject index.

The general discussion on Indians should have included the trans-Mississippi tribes; otherwise the over-all picture is a bit misleading. The federal

government does not "grant" power to the states. The reader should not be led to think that the court martial and retirement of General Wilkinson are cause and effect. The tendency in the later state constitutions was towards limitation of legislative power and increase in the executive, rather than vice versa. New Mexico was not settled in 1598 as a buffer against the Apache and Comanche; they were not a problem that early on the frontier of New Spain. The province was ultimately retained by the Crown as a missionary field. And 1610 is the preferred date for the founding of Santa Fe. The terms of the California Compromise should be included, either in addition to, or as a substitution for, Clay's omnibus bill; the reader might think that the latter was the final solution. "Indians were entitled to vote in the states," only if they met the state suffrage requirements.

In discussing minorities, the term "American-born Mexican" is an unhappy and inaccurate choice. The paragraph in general is not a valid analysis for New Mexican citizens of Mexican ancestry who have been Americans for over a century, nor is it strictly accurate for other parts of the Southwest.

These specific comments are of minor importance in evaluating so excellent a textbook. The contents are broader than a political-economic narrative, and are, therefore, in harmony with the current trend in academic thinking towards a "general education" curricula. The author has done a fine job of comingling information with numerous stimulating and judicious interpretations. It is not dull reading. It does grieve me, however, that the Los Alamos laboratory is "in the New Mexican desert." I

hope that some day Professor Baldwin will visit the beautiful mountain country of northcentral New Mexico where Los Alamos is located.

Frank D. Reeve
University of New Mexico

ANDREW GYORGY and HUBERT S. GIBBS: *Problems in International Relations*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 330 pages. \$3.75.

The "problem-approach" method is not a new technique for the study of foreign relations. Beginning in 1947 the Brookings Institution began an annual publication of "Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy" as a systematic effort to popularize the case-study approach to American foreign policy. The purpose of this book is to provide a similar approach to the field of international relations. It presents a series of case studies of the major problems which have faced the nations of the world in the post-Second World War period.

The authors logically begin with the Communist challenge to the free world and the Western response to that challenge. The extent of the Soviet threat and the diversity of their methods and techniques are well illustrated by four case studies: Soviet pressure on Iran, the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Communist problem in France, and the Communist revolution in China. All facets of the Western response—political, economic, and military—are covered by selections on the Truman doctrine, the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Berlin blockade, and the European Coal and Steel Community.

The subsequent cases are selected to cover a wide variety of problems, ranging from the role of the lesser powers to current issues in international law. The editors preface each case study with a brief summary of the problem and a provocative listing of the issues to be analyzed. An article, which constitutes the body of the case, and a general bibliography follow. Most of the cases are illustrated with tables and very usable maps.

The organization of the book makes possible the regrouping of the cases in many different ways and so enables an instructor to fit the material to the needs of individual courses. Thus, the book may be very profitably used in courses in American foreign policy, both at the introductory and advanced levels, as well as in courses in international relations.

Rufus G. Hall, Jr.
University of Oklahoma

GEORGE DE HUSZAR (ed.): *Soviet Power and Policy*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. 598 pages. \$8.75.

Social scientists have been slow to recognize the Soviet empire as a unit. There are very few courses on the Soviet empire, and no texts. De Huszar and his associates have made a pioneering experiment in writing the first complete and comprehensive text on this empire, including both internal developments and problems, and foreign policy. All the Soviet satellites, mainland China among them, are considered, in addition to the USSR.

The book is divided into four parts, of which Parts 2, 3, and 4 are the most

substantial and important. These are entitled: Soviet Power, Soviet Expansion in Eurasia, and The Soviet Union and the United States. Contributors include, in addition to De Huszar, William H. E. Johnson, Ellsworth Raymond, Edward Ames, John F. Cady, Robert W. Coonrod, Leon M. Herman, Harry N. Howard, Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, Paul H. Krauss, George Lipsky, Roy Macridis, Robert W. Murphey, and Thomas H. Stevenson.

The section on Soviet power includes political, administrative, geographic, demographic, economic, and foreign-policy chapters. It is the best survey of the USSR available in any text which covers at the same time areas other than the USSR. The section on Soviet expansion in Eurasia deals with the satellites, and discusses also periphery areas threatened by Soviet expansion. Chapters on Europe and the Middle East (by De Huszar and Harry Howard) are excellent. Chapters on Asia are less well done, partly because of the persistence of the myth that Communists in the Far East are somehow different from other Communists, and partly because of inadequate treatment of nationalism (it is stated, for example, that Indonesian nationalism served to weaken communism, which has not happened). Insufficient attention is paid the genuine, healthy anti-Communist nationalism of Rhee, Chiang, Diem, and Magsaysay. An excellent bibliography is provided.

Anthony T. Bouscaren
Marquette University

JOHN M. CLAUNCH: *The Government of Dallas County, Texas*. Dallas,

Southern Methodist University Press,
1954. 217 pages. \$4.00.

Of the 3,049 counties in the United States, 254 are in Texas. This book is a discussion of the government of only one of them, but it is really much more than that. Since the structure and functions of Texas county governments are virtually frozen in the state constitution, a study of one county government is rather much a study of all of them. To be sure, there are a few optional officers that some of the more sparsely settled and poorer counties do not have; nor do all counties perform all the optional functions. Since Dallas County is a metropolitan county, it has almost all the permitted officers and services. A study, therefore, of the government of Dallas County is actually a study of Texas county government, especially so since the author has clearly indicated how the county under discussion differs from the norm. There are some routine suggestions as to how the structure of the county government might be improved, but the real purpose of the study is not to evaluate the effectiveness of the present government. Now that the basic work has been done, the author would perform a real service, especially to Dallas County, if he would give us such an evaluation.

For the serious student, the effectiveness of the book is marred by the placing of the footnotes at the back of the book, a practice which should, in my opinion, be banned by all presses. There is no index.

The Arnold Foundation of Southern Methodist University, under whose sponsorship the volume was published, has well carried out its aim of stimulating a greater interest in the problems

of citizenship by making the volume available to the citizens of Dallas County and the rest of the state.

Dick Smith
Tarleton State College

JEWELL CASS PHILLIPS: *State and Local Government in America*. New York, American Book Co., 1954. 728 pages. \$6.00.

Phillips has developed an interesting and comprehensive account of American state and local government. It looks and reads like a good modern college textbook. A rather standard treatment of state government is found in Part I, followed by sections on state and local finance and personnel, local government, state and local government services, and state and local government reform. Two points regarding the author's treatment of his material may be made. First, the attention given to local government is relatively extensive and balances well with the material on state government; and there is a similar balanced approach to the use of historical information and current problems, trends, and patterns. Second, emphasis is placed on intergovernmental relationships, particularly in the section on governmental services. The objective seems to be to place in perspective both the program divisions and the program relationships of modern government.

In recent textbooks there has been a trend towards particular recognition of intergovernmental relations. More often than not, however, only a few chapters are set aside for this subject. The approach taken here, though not altogether new, may appeal to teachers

and students. This is a good and solid book, one admirably suited for courses in state and local government.

Wilfred D. Webb
University of Texas

JOHN L. JOHNSON: *Income in Kentucky*. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1955. 310 pages. \$4.50.

One of the most frequently referred-to indicators of economic activity is the series on personal income, estimated by the National Income Division of the United States Department of Commerce. Personal income statistics are useful as current indicators of business activity, and, when the major components are isolated, the series provides a valuable commentary on major structural changes in the economy.

The Department of Commerce does not, however, carry its analysis beyond the state level. The need for income data for units smaller than a state is felt by market researchers, for whom income statistics are an indispensable indicator of sales potential; it is also felt by government agencies responsible for the disbursement or collection of revenue and by the social scientist, who can use income payment data as a quantitative measure of the local economic environment.

Income in Kentucky is a painstaking exercise in disaggregation, taking Department of Commerce state income data as a starting point. The analysis estimates total and per capita income for each county in the state, determines income distribution by size for the high-income counties and for groups of low-income counties, and attempts a comparative analysis of the differ-

ences in per capita incomes of counties, the state, and the nation.

The various county estimates have a largely local relevance, but *Income in Kentucky* deserves a wide reading because of the very complete discussion in the appendices (which constitute almost two-thirds of the book) describing the allocation procedures adopted. The selection of allocators by which gross state income totals may be distributed between counties is critical to the disaggregation technique. In a few cases, the selection of an allocator is relatively straightforward. Thus, unemployment-compensation records give relatively full coverage on a county basis with respect to industrial payrolls and may be used as an allocator for the wage and salary income component, in conjunction with a relatively simple situs adjustment. The selection of other allocators, however, particularly for distributing proprietors' income, is a more complex problem. The detailed enumeration of allocators used, together with the complete discussion of their applicability and their limitations, should be especially valuable for any group undertaking a similar state-wide study.

Alfred G. Dale
University of Texas

Other Books Received

September, 1955

Arbingast, Stanley A., Al. E. Cudlipp, Jr., and Anne G. Schuler: *Community Relations in Texas Industry*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 100 pages, \$1.00.

- Burma, John H., and W. Marston DePoister: *Workbook in Introductory Sociology*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 190 pages. \$2.36.
- Carter, Gwendolen M.: *South Africa*. Headline Series No. 109. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1955. 62 pages. \$3.50.
- Cavan, Ruth Shonle: *Criminology*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. 718 pages. \$6.00.
- Cuber, John F.: *Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles*. 3rd ed., New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. 652 pages. \$5.50.
- Daggett, Stuart: *Principles of Inland Transportation*. 4th ed., New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. 788 pages. \$6.00.
- A Design for Elementary Education in New York State: A Guide for the Improvement of Educational Programs in the Elementary Grades*. Albany, University of the State of New York, 1955. 75 pages.
- A Design for Improving Early Secondary Education in New York State: Suggestions to Schools and Their Communities in Grades 7, 8 and 9*. Albany, University of the State of New York, 1954. 118 pages.
- Doran, Kenneth T.: *Planning for College in New York State*. Albany, New York State University Press, 1954. 62 pages.
- Duncan, Delbert J., and Charles F. Phillips: *Retailing: Principles and Methods*. 4th ed., Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 743 pages. \$6.00.
- Dunner, Joseph: *Baruch Spinoza and Western Democracy: An Interpretation of His Philosophical, Religious, and Political Thought*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 140 pages. \$3.00.
- Easton, Stewart C.: *The Heritage of the Past: From the Earliest Times to the Close of the Middle Ages*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1955. 795 pages. \$6.00.
- Fifth Annual City Clerk's School: A Report*. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 70 pages.
- Financing Kentucky Government*. Research Publication No. 40. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1955. 27 pages.
- Frumkin, Robert M.: *The Measurement of Marriage Adjustment*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, Annals of American Research, 1954. 13 pages. \$1.00.
- Gemmill, Paul F.: *Current Introductory Economics*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1955. 687 pages. \$5.50.
- Hamilton, David B.: *Consumer Cooperation in New Mexico*. Business Information Series No. 26. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 31 pages. \$5.00.
- Hare, Ronald: *Pomp and Pestilence: Infectious Disease, Its Origins and Conquest*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 224 pages. \$5.75.
- International Political Science Abstracts: Documentation Politique In-*

- ternationale*. Vol. IV, No. 3. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 339-523 pages. \$1.00.
- International Social Science Bulletin: Factors of Economic Progress*. Vol. VI, No. 2. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 364 pages. \$1.00.
- International Social Science Bulletin: Economic Motivations and Stimulations in Underdeveloped Countries*. Vol. VI, No. 3. Paris, UNESCO, 1954. 576 pages. \$1.00.
- Iserman, Theodore R.: *Three Taft-Hartley Issues: I. Secondary Boycotts; II. "Mandatory" Injunctions; III. Replaced Strikers' Votes*. National Economic Problems Series No. 456. New York and Washington, D.C., American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1955. 32 pages. \$1.00.
- Jucius, Michael J., Elmore Petersen, and George R. Terry: *Introduction to Business*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 675 pages. \$6.00.
- Karrenbrock, W. E., and Harry Simons: *Advanced Accounting: Comprehensive Volume*. Cincinnati, South-Western Publishing Company, 1955. 948 pages.
- Kenworthy, Leonard S.: *Free and Inexpensive Materials on World Affairs*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1954. 94 pages. \$1.25.
- Kraines, Oscar: *The Emergence of a New Nation*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1954. 46 pages. \$1.00.
- Kucherov, Bertha (comp.): *Aeronautical Sciences and Aviation in the Soviet Union: A Bibliography*. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Reference Department, 1955. 274 pages.
- Kyle, Lyle C.: *Planning Your Community*. Citizen's Pamphlet Series No. 16. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 23 pages.
- Lamont, Corliss: *Soviet Civilization*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 447 pages. \$5.00.
- Legislative Research in Kentucky*. Third biennial report. Frankfort, Kentucky, Legislative Research Commission, 1955. 78 pages.
- Lusk, Harold F.: *Business Law: Principles and Cases*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 1,061 pages. \$6.75.
- Mayer, Kurt B.: *Class and Society*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. 88 pages. \$.95.
- Menning, J. H., and C. W. Wilkinson: *Writing Business Letters*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 542 pages. \$5.50.
- Morgan, James N.: *Consumer Economics*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. 440 pages. \$6.00.
- Nelson, Olaf: *Stone Age Economists in the Atomic Age*. New York, Pageant Press, Inc., 1954. 160 pages. \$3.00.
- Peach, W. Nelson: *Principles of Economics*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 704 pages. \$6.00.

- Podolsky, Edward: *Management of Addictions*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. 413 pages. \$7.50.
- Publications, 1955*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1955. 18 pages.
- Recreation Superintendent's School: A Report*. 2nd annual. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 50 pages.
- Sixth Annual County Clerk's School: A Report*. Special Report No. 63. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 39 pages.
- Smith, George Albert, and C. Roland Christensen: *Policy Formulation and Administration: A Casebook of Top-management Problems in Business*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 749 pages. \$6.00.
- Spiegel, Henry William: *Current Economic Problems*. Rev. ed. Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955. 682 pages. \$6.00.
- State-Local Relations in Kansas: The State Department of Social Welfare. Special Report No. 61*. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center. 158 pages.
- White, Leonard D.: *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*. 4th ed. New York, Macmillan Co., 1955. 531 pages. \$6.00.
- Zedler, Empress Young: *Listening for Speech Sounds: Stories for the Speech Clinician and the Classroom Teacher*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. 145 pages. \$3.00.
- Zoning Survey for Bonner Springs*. Special Report No. 66. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1955. 42 pages.

News and Notes

General

JOHN S. KYSER was appointed president of Northwestern State College of Louisiana at Natchitoches, effective May 15, 1955. President Kyser has been associated with Northwestern for thirty-one years and has served as head of the Department of Social Sciences for more than a decade.

GEORGE T. WALKER, dean of the School of Applied Arts and Sciences at Northwestern State College, Louisiana, was named dean of Administration, effective July 1, 1954.

Accounting

VOL GENE EDMONDSON, formerly professor of accounting, University of Oklahoma, has resigned to take an executive position with the Oklahoma Hospital Association.

JOHN D. LAFLIN, formerly instructor in business law and accounting, Texas A. and M. College, has been appointed assistant professor of accounting at the University of Oklahoma.

T. HARRY MCKINNEY, formerly instructor in economics, has been appointed assistant professor of accounting, University of Oklahoma.

JAMES WILSON PARSONS, JR., has accepted the position of associate professor of accounting and statistics, Baylor University. He holds B.S., M.B.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Louisiana State University.

BEVIE T. SANDERS has joined the staff of the Department of Economics and Business Administration, Texas Western College. Mr. Sanders, who has been teaching at Sul Ross State College, has completed doctoral work in accounting at the University of Texas.

VERNON UPCHURCH, formerly professor of accounting at East Central State College, Oklahoma, has joined the accounting staff at the University of Oklahoma.

Agricultural Economics

ROBERT E. BRANSON, formerly of the Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture, has been appointed associate professor of agricultural economics, Texas A. and M. College.

R. J. HILDRETH, formerly of Iowa State College, has been appointed assistant professor of agricultural economics, Texas A. and M. College.

CLARENCE A. MOORE, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of agricultural economics, Texas A. and M. College.

M. W. SLUSHER died on June 5, 1955, at the age of forty-three. Mr. Slusher was employed by the Production Economics Research Branch, Agricultural Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, and was at the University of Arkansas at the time of his death. He had been stationed in Fayetteville, Arkan-

sas, for sixteen years, working primarily in recent years with rice-farming problems.

HOWARD S. WHITNEY, formerly of Oklahoma A. and M. College, has been appointed assistant professor of agricultural economics, Texas A. and M. College.

Business Administration

JOHN R. BEISHLINE, recently retired Brigadier General, United States Army, will join the staff of the University of Texas as professor in the Department of Management.

W. PAUL BRANN is returning to the University of Arkansas as associate director, Industrial and Extension Center, Little Rock.

DOYLE L. CALTON has resigned his position in the School of Business, Baylor University, to enter business.

EDNA GREGG, associate professor and chairman of the Department of Office Administration and Business Education, Baylor University, received an Ed.D. degree from Indiana University in June, 1955.

ROBERT D. HAY has been promoted to associate professor of management, University of Arkansas.

SAMUEL T. KEIM has resigned as associate professor of business administration, Texas A. and M. College, to become chairman of the Department of Business Administration, Kansas State College.

JUSTIN G. LONGNECKER has joined the Baylor University faculty as associate professor of management. He

holds an A.B. degree from Seattle Pacific College, an M.B.A. from Ohio State University, and has completed course work and examination toward a D.B.A. at the University of Washington.

EDWIN F. MOORE has resigned his position in the School of Business, Baylor University, to enter business.

LESLIE RASNER, assistant professor of insurance, is now also administrative assistant to the dean of the School of Business, Baylor University.

CURTIS REIERSON, JR., who has been teaching part time, will become assistant professor in marketing, Baylor University, in September. He holds B.B.A. and M.A. degrees from Baylor, with additional graduate study at the University of Texas, Harvard University, and the University of Edinburgh.

JOHN A. RYAN has joined the staff of the Department of Economics and Business Administration, Texas Western College. He has been teaching at Oklahoma A. and M. College and continuing work toward a Ph.D. degree at the University of Texas.

Economics

STEPHEN J. BARRES has joined the staff of the Department of Economics and Business Administration, Texas Western College. He has been working toward a doctorate at Purdue University.

DALE CRAMER has joined the staff of the Department of Economics and Business Administration, Texas Western College. He has been teach-

ing at Louisiana State University while completing doctoral work there.

DAVID P. DELORME has joined the staff of the Department of Economics and Business Administration, Texas Western College. He received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas in June and has been teaching at Idaho State College.

ROLF HAYN has been appointed assistant professor of economics, University of Oklahoma. He will be in charge of international economics studies.

MATTHEW H. JONAS has been appointed instructor of economics, University of Texas.

ROBERT G. LAYER has resigned as associate professor of economics, A. and M. College, to become acting chairman of the Department of Economics, Southern Illinois University.

DONALD J. MCCLURG has been appointed instructor of economics, University of Texas.

CHARLES MARBERRY has been promoted to associate professor of economics, University of Arkansas.

AURELIUS MORGNER, who spent the academic year 1954-55 at Columbia University on a Ford Foundation grant, has returned to his duties as associate professor of economics, Texas A. and M. College.

EASTIN NELSON, who has been on leave from the University of Texas since February as a visiting lecturer at the University of San Carlos, Guatemala, will resume his duties as

professor of economics in September.

JEROME PESCHKE, professor of economics and finance, University of Houston, will be on leave during the spring semester to work toward a Ph.D. degree at the University of Texas.

MURRAY E. POLAKOFF, of the Department of Economics, University of Texas, has been granted a year's leave of absence to study at Harvard under a Ford Foundation grant.

GEORGE M. POWELL has been appointed assistant professor of economics at the University of Arkansas. He comes from the University of Illinois, where he is completing work for a Ph.D. degree.

W. CLYDE ROBINSON has been appointed assistant professor of economics at Baylor University. He holds a B.B.A. degree from Baylor, an M.B.A. from Tulane, and has completed residence requirements toward a Ph.D. at Tulane, where he studied last year under a General Education Board Fellowship.

SHERMAN SHAPIRO, formerly of the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of economics at Notre Dame University.

WILLIAM J. THOMAS, associate professor of statistics and economics at Baylor University, is now also director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research.

HARRY WILLIAMS, assistant professor of economics and finance, University of Houston, will be on leave during the spring semester and sum-

mer session of the 1955-56 academic year to complete work on a Ph.D. degree at the University of Texas.

Geography

ARTHUR H. DOERR was promoted to associate professor of geography, University of Oklahoma, effective September, 1955.

HARRY E. HOY, professor of geography, University of Oklahoma, has published a physiographic map of India and Pakistan, printed in three colors.

WALTER M. KOLLMORGEN, professor and chairman of the Department of Geography, University of Kansas, returns to his post following two semesters on leave to conduct research on agricultural geography in Germany under Fulbright auspices, and a third semester as Walker Ames Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of Washington. He is reactivating his Office of Naval Research project on population and settlement changes in the Great Plains wheat areas, in which he is assisted by Dr. GEORGE F. JENKS, associate professor in the same department.

A. W. KUCHLER, professor of geography, University of Kansas, has completed a three-year research project on problems of methodology in vegetation mapping, which was supported by the Office of Naval Research. During the summer of 1954 he attended the Eighth International Botanical Congress in Paris as a delegate of the University and served as vice-president of the section on plant ecology.

JOHN W. MORRIS was promoted to professor of geography, University of Oklahoma, effective September, 1955.

DAVID S. SIMONETT has been appointed assistant professor of geography, University of Kansas. He received his training at the University of Sidney, where he also was a member of the staff. He received fellowships for three years of research to investigate problems of soil morphology and land utilization in parts of Australia. He has spent a year at the University of Maryland as a Fulbright lecturer, and last year was at the University of Nottingham, England. In his new post, he will be responsible for work in geography of soils and physical geography.

THOMAS R. SMITH, acting chairman of the Department of Geography, University of Kansas, during the absence of Dr. Kollmorgen, has been promoted to professor of geography. Dr. Smith is coauthor of the fourth edition of Smith, Phillips and Smith, *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, recently published by Henry Holt and Company. During 1955-56, he will be on leave to lecture at the Rotterdam College of Economics under Fulbright auspices.

Government

The Department of Government, University of Texas, has initiated a series of monthly conference-seminars for its staff and graduate students, the purpose of which is to develop a closer social and intellectual acquaintance among students and faculty through regular interchange of ideas. General discussion follows

the reading of a paper or a panel presentation. During the spring a number of distinguished visitors, including Merle Fainsod of Harvard, Robert M. MacIver of Columbia, and Hans Morgenthau of Chicago, addressed the seminar.

OLIVER E. BENSON, professor of government, University of Oklahoma, has returned after a year's leave of absence. During that time he was visiting professor of government at Northwestern University and participated in its curriculum re-evaluation program.

DOROTHY I. CLINE has been granted a year's leave of absence from her position as assistant professor of government, University of New Mexico, to become the state's first Director of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation for the State Department of Public Instruction.

RUFUS G. HALL, JR., associate professor, University of Oklahoma, has been reappointed to the chairmanship of the Department of Government for a four-year term.

DAVID W. KNEPPER has been appointed chairman of the newly organized Department of Political Science at the University of Houston. The new department will supplant the former Government Section of the Social Science Division and the Department of Public Administration. Members of the new department will include Thornton Sinclair, Pauline Yelderman, Welbourne Benton, Edward T. K. Chen, James Jensen, and Harold K. Jacobson.

WILLIAM S. LIVINGSTON, associate professor of government, University

of Texas, has accepted a part-time appointment as assistant dean of the Graduate School.

STUART H. MCINTYRE, instructor in government, University of Oklahoma, has been awarded a fellowship by the Southern Fellowship Fund for the completion of his doctoral dissertation. He will be on leave of absence for 1955-56.

C. PERRY PATTERSON, professor of government, University of Texas, visited Baylor University in May, where he conducted a special ceremony in connection with the organization of a new chapter of the national political science honorary fraternity, Pi Sigma Alpha. Founder of the fraternity, which was inaugurated by the establishment of Alpha chapter at the University of Texas in 1920, he served as national president from 1920 to 1932, and in 1932 was elected honorary national president for life. The chartering of the Baylor chapter, Gamma Eta, brings the list of active chapters to seventy-four.

ALLAN R. RICHARDS has been promoted to associate professor of government, University of New Mexico.

WALTER F. SCHEFFER has been promoted to assistant professor of government, University of Oklahoma. He recently received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin.

THORNTON SINCLAIR has been promoted to professor of political science, University of Houston.

History

G. G. ARNAKIS, lately associate professor of history, University of Kan-

sas, is visiting associate professor of history, University of Texas.

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED, assistant professor of history, University of Texas, has a year's leave of absence as a Fulbright scholar to study in Japan.

EDWARD L. CANNAN, assistant professor of history, University of Texas, has a year's leave of absence to take advantage of a Southern Fellowship Fund grant.

EDWARD E. DALE has returned to the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, after a year at the University of Houston. He will return to the University of Houston as visiting professor for the second semester, 1955-56. Dr. Dale expects to complete for December publication two manuscripts: *A History of the Indians of Oklahoma*, and *A Life of Robert Lee Williams*.

GILBERT C. FITE has been appointed chairman of the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, for a four-year term, to succeed Professor Albert B. Sears, who has served as chairman since 1937. Professor Fite has returned to Oklahoma from a leave of absence at Harvard University on a Ford Foundation fellowship. His *An Agricultural Geography of the United States*, coauthored with Ladd Haystead, will be released shortly by the University of Oklahoma Press.

LARRY L. GRAVES has accepted a position as assistant professor of history, Texas Technological College. Dr. Graves, who received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1954, has been instructor in

history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina for the past four years.

W. E. HOLLON, of the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, has completed his manuscript on William Bollaert, *An English Traveler in the Republic of Texas, 1842-1844*, to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

A. W. HUMMEL, lately chief of the Asiatic Division of the Library of Congress, is visiting professor of history, University of Texas.

ENNO KRAEHE, associate professor of history, University of Kentucky, will be visiting associate professor of history, University of Texas, during the absence of Professor R. John Rath.

A. C. KREY, professor emeritus of history, University of Minnesota, is visiting professor of history, University of Texas.

A. R. LEWIS, associate professor of history, University of Texas, has a year's leave of absence as Ford Foundation faculty fellow, to work at the University of Montpellier and elsewhere in southern France.

MARTIN HENRY LUTTER, candidate for a Ph.D. degree in history, University of Oklahoma, and on leave for the fall semester from Concordia College to teach part time and continue graduate work at Oklahoma, is the recipient of the first annual Horace C. Peterson Memorial Fellowship of \$100. The fellowship fund was established by faculty friends and former students of Dr. Peterson, a member of the University of Okla-

homa faculty from 1936 until his death in 1952.

G. W. MCGINTY, professor and chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, was elected president of the North Louisiana Historical Association at its annual meeting, April 23, 1955.

OTIS A. PEASE, instructor in history, University of Texas, has a year's leave of absence to teach as assistant professor of history, University of Washington.

R. JOHN RATH, professor of history, University of Texas, will be visiting professor of history, University of Wisconsin, for the fall semester, 1955-56.

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, instructor in history, University of Texas, has been named recipient of the Moncado Book Fund Award of the American Military Institute. The award is given for the best unpublished work on any phase of United States military history. The Department of Defense has requested that the manuscript be retained in Washington for consultation in connection with current problems.

LESLIE F. SMITH will return to the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, this fall after a year's leave of absence on a Fulbright Research Grant in Norway.

DAVID M. VIGNESS, who has served as head of the Department of Social Science, Schreiner Institute, since 1953, has been appointed assistant professor of history, Texas Technological College.

WALTER P. WEBB, professor of history, University of Texas, has been granted a Guggenheim Award to assist in the preparation of a volume on the Trans-Mississippi West since 1865 for Harper's "New American Nation Series." Professor Webb plans to tour seventeen Western states and possibly Alaska and Hawaii.

PHILIP L. WHITE is to be instructor in history, University of Texas, beginning in September, 1955.

Sociology

HOWARD BAUMGARTEL has been appointed chairman of the Department of Human Relations, University of Kansas, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Dr. Hilden Gibson. He comes from the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, and will receive a Ph.D. degree from Michigan in October.

IVAN C. BELKNAP, associate professor of sociology, University of Texas, has completed the field research and analysis on the first part of his consulting assignment with the Texas Research League in the study of the organization of the Texas State Mental Hospital System. To date, he has published one of fourteen volumes in the League's series, the volume dealing with the social organization and problems of manpower supply in psychiatric services. He is now completing a study of the administrative organization of state hospitals and another on the organization of geriatric services in the hospitals. Appointed a consultant to the Texas State Hospital Advisory Committee, he is also presently serving as a mem-

ber of the Advisory Committee for the Russell Sage Foundation project in medical sociology at the Medical Branch of the University of Texas in Galveston. Dr. Belknap was promoted to associate professor during the year.

CLAUDE B. BOREN has accepted appointment as assistant professor of sociology at Lamar Technological College.

WALDO BURCHARD has resigned from the University of Kansas to accept a position as assistant professor of sociology, Hollins College, Virginia.

CARROLL D. CLARK has resumed chairmanship of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Kansas, after a year's sabbatical leave devoted to research under a grant from the Fund for Adult Education.

FRED R. CRAWFORD, formerly field director of the Waco-San Angelo tornado disaster study at the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology, Texas Technological College, effective September, 1955.

WILLIAM DELANEY, who will receive a Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan in October, has joined the staff of the University of Kansas as instructor in sociology.

JOHN GULLAHORN has joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Kansas, as visiting assistant professor, in the absence of Dr. E. Gordon Erickson, who remains on leave as a consultant in community organization with the

State Department, being stationed in the British West Indies. Dr. Gullahorn comes from a year of research in Paris in collaboration with Georges Friedman on "The American Student in France." This research was sponsored by the State Department.

E. GARTLY JACO has resigned his position in the Department of Sociology, University of Texas, to accept appointment as associate professor of sociology in the Department of Neuropsychiatry, University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston. Dr. Jaco is teaching, conducting research in social psychiatry, and serving as advisor to the Social Service Department. The project is supported by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Hogg Foundation.

RUSSELL MIDDLETON, candidate for a Ph.D. degree in sociology, University of Texas, has received a Fulbright award for further graduate study at Oxford University this year.

HARRY E. MOORE, associate professor of sociology, University of Texas, has released the report of the study of the Waco-San Angelo tornado disaster, a two-year study financed by the National Research Council Committee on Disaster Study and the Hogg Foundation.

ELWIN POWELL has been appointed visiting professor of sociology at the University of Tulsa for 1955-56.

MARION A. WAGGONER, associate professor of sociology, University of Tulsa, is taking leave of absence to study in Germany during 1955-56.

TOSHIO YATSUSHIRO has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, University of Kansas. A research associate with

Dr. Alexander Leighton at Cornell University for several years, he has most recently been working on the Nova Scotia mental health project.

The Association: the Constitution

Constitution of the Southwestern Social Science Association

ARTICLE I—NAME

The name of this Association is "The Southwestern Social Science Association," which is the continuation and extension of the Association formerly known as "The Southwestern Political and Social Science Association," and founded in 1920 under the name of "Southwestern Political Science Association."

ARTICLE II—PURPOSE

The purpose of the Association is the promotion, cultivation, and correlation of the social sciences and their application to the solution of social problems, with particular reference to the Southwestern States. The attainment of this purpose shall be furthered by the encouragement of research, by holding program meetings with attendance open to the public, by publication and dissemination of information and opinion on matters of concern in the various social sciences, and in such other manner as the Executive Council may direct.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Association shall be open to any individual, library, or institution interested in the promotion of the purpose of the Association. Membership is in the Association, and any member may participate in the activities of such subject-matter Sections as he may choose. To promote the growth and fullest success of the subject-matter Sections in their programs,

members shall indicate (when assuming membership and annually upon payment of dues) those Sections which represent their field or fields of special interests and in which they wish to work.

The amount of the annual dues shall be fixed by the Association at its annual meeting.

Membership shall not be restricted to any particular geographic or political territory, but shall be open to all persons interested in the social problems of particular significance to the Southwestern States.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer, an Editor-in-Chief of Publications, a General Program Chairman, and the Section Chairmen.

The Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the annual meetings of the Association. The First Vice-President shall succeed to the Presidency at the end of his term as First Vice-President. The Secretary-Treasurer and the Editor-in-Chief of Publications shall be appointed by the remainder of the Executive Council. The General Program Chairman shall be appointed by the President. The Section Chairmen shall be elected by their respective Sections. All officers shall serve for one year or until their successors are fully elected or appointed and assume office.

A vacancy in the office of President

shall be filled for the unexpired term by the First Vice-President. A vacancy in any other office shall be filled for the unexpired term by appointment by the President.

The officers of the Association, together with the two most recent Past Presidents and the most recent Past General Program Chairman, shall constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall serve as a Board of Directors of a corporation and shall conduct the affairs of the Association, designate the duties of officers of the Association, and shall report to the annual meeting.

A Publications Editorial Board shall be constituted by election of Associate Editors, one selected from and by each subject-matter Section at the annual meeting. Any Section Chairman may also serve as Associate Editor representing his Section if and when so decided for the ensuing year by the Section at the annual meeting. The Editorial Board, of which the Editor-in-Chief shall be ex officio Chairman, shall formulate publication policies, and apportion tasks to its members so as to provide assistance to the Editor-in-Chief.

ARTICLE V—MEETINGS

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association, at a time and place to be designated by the Executive Council, for the transaction of business and the discussion of social problems. Notice of such annual meeting shall be sent to all members of the Association at least one month before such meeting. At the annual meetings, the Executive Council, the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the Editor-in-Chief of Publications shall make their annual

reports, and the elective officers of the Association for the ensuing year shall be chosen. Such members as are present at the annual meetings shall constitute a quorum. Special meetings may be called by a majority of the members of the Executive Council for the transaction of business or for the presentation of papers and discussions, provided notice thereof is sent to all members not less than one month before the proposed meeting.

ARTICLE VI—SECTIONS

The Sections of the Association are Accounting, Agricultural Economics, Business Administration, Business Research, Economics, Government, History, Geography, and Sociology. Any Section may select such name and officers as it deems necessary. The Executive Council shall provide for the growth of the Association by broadening the scope and/or the names of Sections now in existence or by creating new Sections, if the welfare of the Association requires it.

ARTICLE VII—PROGRAMS

The General Program Chairman shall be directly responsible to the Executive Council for the general planning and direction of the nonbusiness program at the annual meeting. Programs may be held separately by individual Sections, or jointly by two or more of them.

Responsibility for the preparation of program sessions of individual Sections shall be vested in the respective Section Chairman. Program Section Chairmen shall give preference to members of the Association for participation on programs. It shall be the duty of the

Secretary-Treasurer to provide each Section Chairman with a list of the membership of the Association for use in arranging programs.

ARTICLE VIII—FORMAL PROCEDURES

The Executive Council shall adopt, and at least annually, shall consider the revision of By-Laws needful to promote the purpose of the Association, and which are not inconsistent with this Constitution. Such By-Laws shall be currently filed with the Secretary of the Association. Any changes in the Constitution and By-Laws shall be published annually in the *Quarterly*.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any duly authorized business meeting of the Association provided that the amendment shall have been proposed by a majority of the Executive Council or by petition of fifteen or more members and submitted to the membership by publication in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, the official publication of the Association, three or more months in advance of the vote on the amendment. This Constitution may be amended without prior notice by unanimous vote at any duly authorized business meeting of the Association.

Procedures not otherwise established by the Constitution and/or By-Laws shall conform to the latest edition of Roberts, *Rules of Order*.

BY-LAWS

SECTION I: The Executive Council shall meet on call of the President or on written request of three members thereof. Seven members shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION II: The Association shall publish a quarterly journal, the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, which shall be sent to all members of the Association.

SECTION III: The membership dues for individuals shall be \$4; for students, \$2; for libraries, \$4; for sustaining members, \$10, \$25, or 50; for life members, \$100; and life membership shall be extended to any secretary-treasurer and to any editor of the *Quarterly* who shall have served for a period of three years.

SECTION IV: Membership shall date from the beginning of the quarter following receipt of the first annual dues.

SECTION V: Members may resign upon written notice to the Secretary, sent before the termination of their year. Membership shall be terminated after a delinquency of more than three months. It shall be the policy of the Association to send the member two notices of need or obligation for renewal, and one of these two notices shall be prior to expiration of membership.





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